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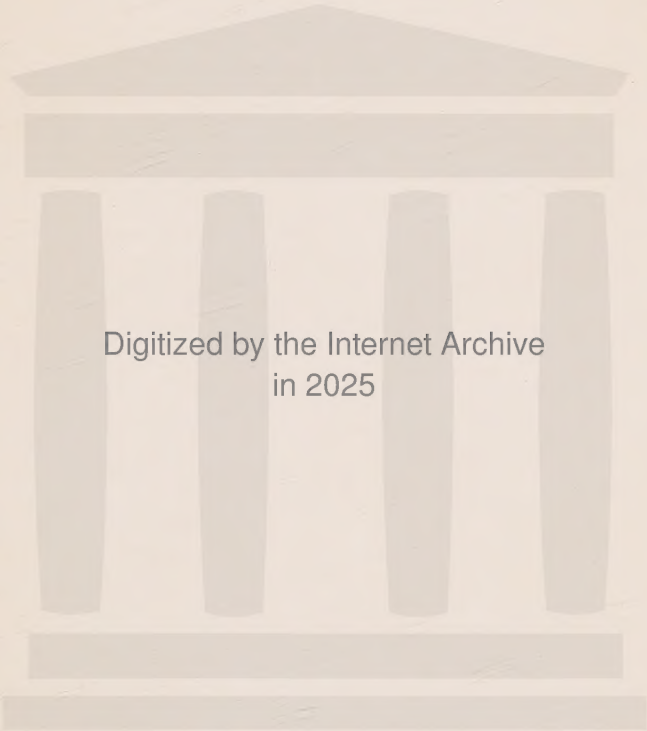

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS

November 15, 1907, to November 26, 1908

BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS

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TO
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS

AT THE INSTALLATION OF WILBUR PATTERSON THIRKIELD, D.D., AS PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER, 15, 1907

Judge Barnard, Ladies and Gentlemen, and especially you, graduates and undergraduates, of this institution of learning:

I am glad to have the chance to come before you and say a word of greeting and of Godspeed to-day. This day of your installation, Mr. President, commemorates the fortieth anniversary of the founding of this institution. There has been much of sorrow and disappointment that have come to men not only of the colored race but of all races during these forty years; and sometimes in looking back we fail to realize all the progress that has been made. Let me call attention to just two facts. During these forty years, practically during the time that has elapsed since the emancipation proclamation, the

colored citizens of the United States have accumulated property until now they have, all told, some three hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of taxable property in this country. During the same forty years they have been making for themselves homes until now there are five hundred thousand homes owned and occupied by the colored citizens of our country. When a man and woman grow to acquire a certain amount of property, above all when they grow to own and occupy their own home, it is proof positive that they have made long strides forward along the path of good citizenship. The material basis is not everything, but it is an indispensable prerequisite to moving upward in the life of decent citizenship; and the colored man, when he acquires property, acquires a home, has taken that indispensable first step, and a long, long step. Upon that material basis must be built the structure of the higher life; and this institution has been devoted throughout its career to turning out men and women who should be teachers and helpers of their own people toward that higher life. You have close upon three thousand graduates; I think twenty-seven hundred is the exact number. Last year you had in all one thousand students, representing thirty-two of our own States and Territories, and about ninety students from other countries. Of these, in the neighborhood of seventy came from the British West Indies, which would alone give us a right to expect the presence here of one who would come in any event because he is interested deeply and

genuinely in every movement for the benefit of mankind—Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador.

Every graduate of an institution of learning who goes out into the world has many difficulties to face. Few have more difficulties to face than those who graduate from this institution. You, graduates, know how much of hardship you have had to encounter, how much you have had to draw upon all of the courage, and faith, and resolution, and good temper that you had in you. The undergraduates will learn the same lesson. I trust that each one of you here will realize the peculiar burden of responsibility that rests upon him, not only as an educated American citizen, but as an educated member of a race that is struggling up toward higher and better things. The esteem that your fellow-citizens bear you; the way they look upon you, the way in which they feel about the effects of education as it shows itself in you; will in a large degree measure their belief in and regard for the colored race. You bear a great burden of responsibility upon your shoulders, men and women who come from this institution. I trust you will realize it, and that help will be given to you from on high to bear it well and worthily. I know of no men graduating from any college in the United States who have a heavier load of responsibility than you bear; and after all, there is no greater privilege given to any man than to have such a load to carry, if only he carries it well. There is every reason why you should realize the weight of the burden; there is

every reason why you should carry it buoyantly and bravely.

You turn out men and women into many different professions. Of course a peculiar importance attaches to those who in after life go into the ministry. A minister needs to remember, what each one of us here needs to remember—but he needs to remember it more than any one else—the truth of the Biblical saying that by your fruits shall men know you. A minister needs to feel that it is incumbent upon him not merely to preach a high and yet a sane morality, but to see that his life bears out his preaching in every minute detail. His position is one of peculiar leadership, and therefore a peculiar weight of obligation attaches to it. Nothing can be more important for any people, or any race, than to have those members of that people or race who follow the profession of the ministry so conduct themselves as to be a source of inspiration to their own flocks, and at the same time to win from the outside world a respect and esteem the effects of which will be felt not only by them but by all their people. Important though it is that there should be a high standard of morality, a high standard of good citizenship among persons of every profession, it is most of all important that such should be the case among those who are to teach their fellows in the things of the soul.

I have also taken a peculiar interest, because of having seen the effects of their work close at hand,

in the graduates in medicine of this university. I believe you have, all told, graduated something like a thousand men in medicine, and I happen to know that a peculiar meed of achievement has come to those men. I think that the average of accomplishment has been peculiarly high among the graduates in medicine of this institution. I earnestly hope that the average graduate of your medical department will not stay around Washington; that he won't try to get into some government position; that he won't even go to some other large city. I hope he will go out and dwell among his fellow-citizens of color in their own homes, and be to them not only a healer of their bodies but a centre for raising them in every part of their lives. I have been struck in traveling through the South to find how many colored doctors have gone into other business as well. Very naturally, frequently you will find that they own drugstores, and I was struck by what very nice drugstores, and how prosperous many of them have been. I was struck by the esteem in which they were held, as a rule, by all of their neighbors, and by the evident fact that each such colored doctor who did his work well exercised a very perceptible influence in raising the standard of citizenship of all the colored citizens of the locality in which he resided. I do not know a more effective bit of home missionary work than is being done in this way.

I have spoken a word of only two of the professions into which the graduates of this university

go. What I have to say, however, applies to all. It is from this institution that are graduated those who will lead and teach their less fortunate fellows. Upon their leading and teaching much depends for their race and for their country. I earnestly hope, as every good citizen must hope if he is a good citizen, that strength will be abundantly given to the men and women who undertake this work of leadership and teaching; that their labors may be indeed fruitful, and that when they come to the end of their lives they shall have that feeling of satisfaction, than which none can be greater, that to them it has been vouchsafed to lead a life of service that was worth rendering.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SIXTIETH CONGRESS, DECEMBER 3, 1907

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

No nation has greater resources than ours, and I think it can be truthfully said that the citizens of no nation possess greater energy and industrial ability. In no nation are the fundamental business conditions sounder than in ours at this very moment: and it is foolish, when such is the case, for people to hoard money instead of keeping it in sound banks; for it is such hoarding that is the immediate occasion of money stringency. Moreover, as a rule, the business of our people is conducted with honesty

and probity, and this applies alike to farms and factories, to railroads and banks, to all our legitimate commercial enterprises.

In any large body of men, however, there are certain to be some who are dishonest, and if the conditions are such that these men prosper or commit their misdeeds with impunity, their example is a very evil thing for the community. Where these men are business men of great sagacity and of temperament both unscrupulous and reckless, and where the conditions are such that they act without supervision or control and at first without effective check from public opinion, they delude many innocent people into making investments or embarking in kinds of business that are really unsound. When the misdeeds of these successfully dishonest men are discovered, suffering comes not only upon them, but upon the innocent men whom they have misled. It is a painful awakening, whenever it occurs; and, naturally, when it does occur those who suffer are apt to forget that the longer it was deferred the more painful it would be. In the effort to punish the guilty it is both wise and proper to endeavor so far as possible to minimize the distress of those who have been misled by the guilty. Yet it is not possible to refrain because of such distress from striving to put an end to the misdeeds that are the ultimate causes of the suffering, and, as a means to this end, where possible to punish those responsible for them. There may be honest differences of opinion as to many governmental policies; but surely

there can be no such differences as to the need of unflinching perseverance in the war against successful dishonesty.

In my message to the Congress on December 5, 1905, I said:

"If the folly of man mars the general well-being, then those who are innocent of the folly will have to pay part of the penalty incurred by those who are guilty of the folly. A panic brought on by the speculative folly of part of the business community would hurt the whole business community; but such stoppage of welfare, though it might be severe, would not be lasting. In the long run, the one vital factor in the permanent prosperity of the country is the high individual character of the average American worker, the average American citizen, no matter whether his work be mental or manual, whether he be farmer or wage-worker, business man or professional man.

"In our industrial and social system the interests of all men are so closely intertwined that in the immense majority of cases a straight-dealing man, who by his efficiency, by his ingenuity and industry, benefits himself, must also benefit others. Normally, the man of great productive capacity who becomes rich by guiding the labor of many other men does so by enabling them to produce more than they could produce without his guidance; and both he and they share in the benefit which comes also to the public at large. The superficial fact that the sharing may be unequal must never blind us to the underlying

fact that there is this sharing, and that the benefit comes in some degree to each man concerned. Normally, the wage-worker, the man of small means, and the average consumer, as well as the average producer, are all alike helped by making conditions such that the man of exceptional business ability receives an exceptional reward for his ability. Something can be done by legislation to help the general prosperity; but no such help of a permanently beneficial character can be given to the less able and less fortunate save as the results of a policy which shall inure to the advantage of all industrious and efficient people who act decently; and this is only another way of saying that any benefit which comes to the less able and less fortunate must of necessity come even more to the more able and more fortunate. If, therefore, the less fortunate man is moved by envy of his more fortunate brother to strike at the conditions under which they have both, though unequally, prospered, the result will assuredly be that while damage may come to the one struck at, it will visit with an even heavier load the one who strikes the blow. Taken as a whole, we must all go up or go down together.

"Yet, while not merely admitting, but insisting upon this, it is also true that where there is no governmental restraint or supervision some of the exceptional men use their energies, not in ways that are for the common good, but in ways which tell against this common good. The fortunes amassed through corporate organization are now

so large, and vest such power in those that wield them, as to make it a matter of necessity to give to the sovereign—that is, to the Government, which represents the people as a whole—some effective power of supervision over their corporate use. In order to ensure a healthy social and industrial life, every big corporation should be held responsible by, and be accountable to, some sovereign strong enough to control its conduct. I am in no sense hostile to corporations. This is an age of combination, and any effort to prevent all combination will be not only useless, but in the end vicious, because of the contempt for law which the failure to enforce law inevitably produces. We should, moreover, recognize in cordial and ample fashion the immense good effected by corporate agencies in a country such as ours, and the wealth of intellect, energy, and fidelity devoted to their service, and therefore normally to the service of the public, by their officers and directors. The corporation has come to stay, just as the trade union has come to stay. Each can do and has done great good. Each should be favored so long as it does good. But each should be sharply checked where it acts against law and justice.

". . . The makers of our National Constitution provided especially that the regulation of interstate commerce should come within the sphere of the General Government. The arguments in favor of their taking this stand were even then overwhelming. But they are far stronger to-day,

in view of the enormous development of great business agencies, usually corporate in form. Experience has shown conclusively that it is useless to try to get any adequate regulation and supervision of these great corporations by State action. Such regulation and supervision can only be effectively exercised by a sovereign whose jurisdiction is coextensive with the field of work of the corporations—that is, by the National Government. I believe that this regulation and supervision can be obtained by the enactment of law by the Congress. . . . Our steady aim should be by legislation, cautiously and carefully undertaken, but resolutely persevered in, to assert the sovereignty of the National Government by affirmative action.

"This is only in form an innovation. In substance it is merely a restoration; for from the earliest time such regulation of industrial activities has been recognized in the action of the lawmaking bodies; and all that I propose is to meet the changed conditions in such manner as will prevent the Commonwealth abdicating the power it has always possessed, not only in this country, but also in England before and since this country became a separate Nation.

"It has been a misfortune that the National laws on this subject have hitherto been of a negative or prohibitive rather than an affirmative kind, and still more that they have in part sought to prohibit what could not be effectively prohibited, and have in part in their prohibitions confounded what

should be allowed and what should not be allowed. It is generally useless to try to prohibit all restraint on competition, whether this restraint be reasonable or unreasonable; and where it is not useless it is generally hurtful. . . . The successful prosecution of one device to evade the law immediately develops another device to accomplish the same purpose. What is needed is not sweeping prohibition of every arrangement, good or bad, which may tend to restrict competition, but such adequate supervision and regulation as will prevent any restriction of competition from being to the detriment of the public, as well as such supervision and regulation as will prevent other abuses in no way connected with restriction of competition."

I have called your attention in these quotations to what I have already said because I am satisfied that it is the duty of the National Government to embody in action the principles thus expressed.

No small part of the trouble that we have comes from carrying to an extreme the National virtue of self-reliance, of independence in initiative and action. It is wise to conserve this virtue and to provide for its fullest exercise, compatible with seeing that liberty does not become a liberty to wrong others. Unfortunately, this is the kind of liberty that the lack of all effective regulation inevitably breeds. The founders of the Constitution provided that the National Government should have complete and sole control of interstate commerce.

There was then practically no interstate business save such as was conducted by water, and this the National Government at once proceeded to regulate in thoroughgoing and effective fashion. Conditions have now so wholly changed that the interstate commerce by water is insignificant compared with the amount that goes by land, and almost all big business concerns are now engaged in interstate commerce. As a result, it can be but partially and imperfectly controlled or regulated by the action of any one of the several States; such action inevitably tending to be either too drastic or else too lax, and in either case ineffective for purposes of justice. Only the National Government can in thoroughgoing fashion exercise the needed control. This does not mean that there should be any extension of Federal authority, for such authority already exists under the Constitution in amplest and most far-reaching form; but it does mean that there should be an extension of Federal activity. This is not advocating centralization. It is merely looking facts in the face, and realizing that centralization in business has already come and can not be avoided or undone, and that the public at large can only protect itself from certain evil effects of this business centralization by providing better methods for the exercise of control through the authority already centralized in the National Government by the Constitution itself. There must be no halt in the healthy constructive course of action which this Nation has elected to pursue, and has steadily

pursued, during the last six years, as shown both in the legislation of the Congress and the administration of the law by the Department of Justice. The most vital need is in connection with the railroads. As to these in my judgment there should now be either a National incorporation act or a law licensing railway companies to engage in interstate commerce upon certain conditions. The law should be so framed as to give to the Interstate Commerce Commission power to pass upon the future issue of securities while ample means should be provided to enable the Commission, whenever in its judgment it is necessary, to make a physical valuation of any railroad. As I stated in my message to the Congress a year ago, railroads should be given power to enter into agreements, subject to these agreements being made public in minute detail and to the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission being first obtained. Until the National Government assumes proper control of interstate commerce, in the exercise of the authority it already possesses, it will be impossible either to give to or to get from the railroads full justice. The railroads and all other great corporations will do well to recognize that this control must come; the only question is as to what governmental body can most wisely exercise it. The courts will determine the limits within which the Federal authority can exercise it, and there will still remain ample work within each State for the railway commission of that State; and the National Interstate Commerce

Commission will work in harmony with the several State commissions, each within its own province, to achieve the desired end.

Moreover, in my judgment there should be additional legislation looking to the proper control of the great business concerns engaged in interstate business, this control to be exercised for their own benefit and prosperity no less than for the protection of investors and of the general public. As I have repeatedly said in messages to the Congress and elsewhere, experience has definitely shown not merely the unwisdom but the futility of endeavoring to put a stop to all business combinations. Modern industrial conditions are such that combination is not only necessary but inevitable. It is so in the world of business just as it is so in the world of labor, and it is as idle to desire to put an end to all corporations, to all big combinations of capital, as to desire to put an end to combinations of labor. Corporation and labor union alike have come to stay. Each if properly managed is a source of good and not evil. Whenever in either there is evil, it should be promptly held to account; but it should receive hearty encouragement so long as it is properly managed. It is profoundly immoral to put or keep on the statute books a law, nominally in the interest of public morality, that really puts a premium upon public immorality by undertaking to forbid honest men from doing what must be done under modern business conditions, so that the law

itself provides that its own infraction must be the condition precedent upon business success. To aim at the accomplishment of too much usually means the accomplishment of too little, and often the doing of positive damage. In my message to the Congress a year ago, in speaking of the antitrust laws, I said:

"The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital, like combination of labor, is a necessary element in our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public, or existing in such forms as inevitably to threaten injury. . . . It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations which do good and those combinations which do evil. . . . Often railroads would like to combine for the purpose of preventing a big shipper from maintaining improper advantages at the expense of small shippers and of the general public. Such a combination, instead of being forbidden by law, should be favored. . . . It is a public evil to have on the statute books a law incapable of full enforcement, because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business

of the country; for the result is to make decent men violators of the law against their will, and to put a premium on the behavior of the willful wrong-doers. Such a result in turn tends to throw the decent man and the willful wrong-doer into close association, and in the end to drag down the former to the latter's level; for the man who becomes a lawbreaker in one way unhappily tends to lose all respect for law and to be willing to break it in many ways. No more scathing condemnation could be visited upon a law than is contained in the words of the Interstate Commerce Commission when, in commenting upon the fact that the numerous joint traffic associations do technically violate the law, they say: 'The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri case and the Joint Traffic Association case has produced no practical effect upon the railway operations of the country. Such associations, in fact, exist now as they did before these decisions, and with the same general effect. In justice to all parties, we ought probably to add that it is difficult to see how our interstate railways could be operated with due regard to the interest of the shipper and the railway without concerted action of the kind afforded through these associations.'

"This means that the law as construed by the Supreme Court is such that the business of the country can not be conducted without breaking it."

As I have elsewhere said:

"All this is substantially what I have said over and over again. Surely it ought not to be necessary

to say that it in no shape or way represents any hostility to corporations as such. On the contrary, it means a frank recognition of the fact that combinations of capital, like combinations of labor, are a natural result of modern conditions and of our National development. As far as in my ability lies my endeavor is and will be to prevent abuse of power by either and to favor both so long as they do well. The aim of the National Government is quite as much to favor and protect honest corporations, honest business men of wealth, as to bring to justice those individuals and corporations representing dishonest methods. Most certainly there will be no relaxation by the Government authorities in the effort to get at any great railroad wrecker—any man who by clever swindling devices robs investors, oppresses wage-workers, and does injustice to the general public. But any such move as this is in the interest of honest railway operators, of honest corporations, and of those who, when they invest their small savings in stocks and bonds, wish to be assured that these will represent money honestly expended for legitimate business purposes. To confer upon the National Government the power for which I ask would be a check upon overcapitalization and upon the clever gamblers who benefit by overcapitalization. But it alone would mean an increase in the value, an increase in the safety of the stocks and bonds of law-abiding, honestly managed railroads, and would render it far easier to market their securities. I believe in proper publicity.

There has been complaint of some of the investigations recently carried on, but those who complain should put the blame where it belongs—upon the misdeeds which are done in darkness and not upon the investigations which brought them to light. The Administration is responsible for turning on the light, but it is not responsible for what the light showed. I ask for full power to be given the Federal Government because no single State can by legislation effectually cope with these powerful corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and, while doing them full justice, exact from them in return full justice to others. The conditions of railroad activity, the conditions of our immense interstate commerce, are such as to make the Central Government alone competent to exercise full supervision and control.

"The grave abuses in individual cases of railroad management in the past represent wrongs not merely to the general public, but, above all, wrongs to fair-dealing and honest corporations and men of wealth, because they excite a popular anger and distrust which from the very nature of the case tends to include in the sweep of its resentment good and bad alike. From the standpoint of the public I can not too earnestly say that as soon as the natural and proper resentment aroused by these abuses becomes indiscriminate and unthinking, it also becomes not merely unwise and unfair, but calculated to defeat the very ends which those feeling it have in view. There has been plenty of dishonest work by corpora-

tions in the past. There will not be the slightest let-up in the effort to hunt down and punish every dishonest man. But the bulk of our business is honestly done. In the natural indignation the people feel over the dishonesty, it is all essential that they should not lose their heads and get drawn into an indiscriminate raid upon all corporations, all people of wealth, whether they do well or ill. Out of any such wild movement good will not come, can not come, and never has come. On the contrary, the surest way to invite reaction is to follow the lead of either demagogue or visionary in a sweeping assault upon property values and upon public confidence, which would work incalculable damage in the business world and would produce such distrust of the agitators that in the revulsion the distrust would extend to honest men who, in sincere and sane fashion, are trying to remedy the evils."

The antitrust law should not be repealed; but it should be made both more efficient and more in harmony with actual conditions. It should be so amended as to forbid only the kind of combination which does harm to the general public, such amendment to be accompanied by, or to be an incident of, a grant of supervisory power to the Government over these big concerns engaged in interstate business. This should be accompanied by provision for the compulsory publication of accounts and the subjection of books and papers to the inspection of the Government officials. A beginning has already

been made for such supervision by the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations.

The antitrust law should not prohibit combinations that do no injustice to the public, still less those the existence of which is on the whole of benefit to the public. But even if this feature of the law were abolished, there would remain as an equally objectionable feature the difficulty and delay now incident to its enforcement. The Government must now submit to irksome and repeated delay before obtaining a final decision of the courts upon proceedings instituted, and even a favorable decree may mean an empty victory. Moreover, to attempt to control these corporations by lawsuits means to impose upon both the Department of Justice and the courts an impossible burden; it is not feasible to carry on more than a limited number of such suits. Such a law to be really effective must of course be administered by an executive body, and not merely by means of lawsuits. The design should be to prevent the abuses incident to the creation of unhealthy and improper combinations, instead of waiting until they are in existence and then attempting to destroy them by civil or criminal proceedings.

A combination should not be tolerated if it abuse the power acquired by combination to the public detriment. No corporation or association of any kind should be permitted to engage in foreign or interstate commerce that is formed for the purpose of, or whose operations create, a monopoly or general control of the production, sale, or distribution

of any one or more of the prime necessities of life or articles of general use and necessity. Such combinations are against public policy; they violate the common law; the doors of the courts are closed to those who are parties to them; and I believe the Congress can close the channels of interstate commerce against them for its protection. The law should make its prohibitions and permissions as clear and definite as possible, leaving the least possible room for arbitrary action, or allegation of such action, on the part of the Executive, or of divergent interpretations by the courts. Among the points to be aimed at should be the prohibition of unhealthy competition, such as by rendering service at an actual loss for the purpose of crushing out competition, the prevention of inflation of capital, and the prohibition of a corporation's making exclusive trade with itself a condition of having any trade with itself. Reasonable agreements between, or combinations of, corporations should be permitted, provided they are first submitted to and approved by some appropriate Government body.

The Congress has the power to charter corporations to engage in interstate and foreign commerce, and a general law can be enacted under the provisions of which existing corporations could take out Federal charters and new Federal corporations could be created. An essential provision of such a law should be a method of predetermining by some Federal board or commission whether the applicant for a Federal charter was an association or combi-

nation within the restrictions of the Federal law. Provision should also be made for complete publicity in all matters affecting the public and complete protection to the investing public and the shareholders in the matter of issuing corporate securities. If an incorporation law is not deemed advisable, a license act for big interstate corporations might be enacted; or a combination of the two might be tried. The supervision established might be analogous to that now exercised over national banks. At least, the antitrust act should be supplemented by specific prohibitions of the methods which experience has shown have been of most service in enabling monopolistic combinations to crush out competition. The real owners of a corporation should be compelled to do business in their own name. The right to hold stock in other corporations should hereafter be denied to interstate corporations, unless on approval by the proper Government officials, and a prerequisite to such approval should be the listing with the Government of all owners and stockholders, both by the corporation owning such stock and by the corporation in which such stock is owned.

To confer upon the National Government, in connection with the amendment I advocate in the antitrust law, power of supervision over big business concerns engaged in interstate commerce, would benefit them as it has benefited the national banks. In the recent business crisis it is noteworthy that the institutions which failed were institutions which were not under the supervision and control of the

National Government. Those which were under National control stood the test.

National control of the kind above advocated would be to the benefit of every well-managed railway. From the standpoint of the public there is need for additional tracks, additional terminals, and improvements in the actual handling of the railroads, and all this as rapidly as possible. Ample, safe, and speedy transportation facilities are even more necessary than cheap transportation. Therefore, there is need for the investment of money which will provide for all these things while at the same time securing as far as is possible better wages and shorter hours for their employees. Therefore, while there must be just and reasonable regulation of rates, we should be the first to protest against any arbitrary and unthinking movement to cut them down without the fullest and most careful consideration of all interests concerned and of the actual needs of the situation. Only a special body of men acting for the National Government under authority conferred upon it by the Congress is competent to pass judgment on such a matter.

Those who fear, from any reason, the extension of Federal activity will do well to study the history not only of the national banking act but of the pure-food law, and notably the meat-inspection law recently enacted. The pure-food law was opposed so violently that its passage was delayed for a decade; yet it has worked unmixed and immediate good. The meat-inspection law was even more

violently assailed; and the same men who now denounce the attitude of the National Government in seeking to oversee and control the workings of interstate common carriers and business concerns, then asserted that we were "discrediting and ruining a great American industry." Two years have not elapsed, and already it has become evident that the great benefit the law confers upon the public is accompanied by an equal benefit to the reputable packing establishments. The latter are better off under the law than they were without it. The benefit to interstate common carriers and business concerns from the legislation I advocate would be equally marked.

Incidentally, in the passage of the pure-food law the action of the various State food and dairy commissioners showed in striking fashion how much good for the whole people results from the hearty cooperation of the Federal and State officials in securing a given reform. It is primarily to the action of these State commissioners that we owe the enactment of this law; for they aroused the people, first to demand the enactment and enforcement of State laws on the subject, and then the enactment of the Federal law, without which the State laws were largely ineffective. There must be the closest co-operation between the National and State governments in administering these laws.

In my message to the Congress a year ago I spoke as follows of the currency:

"I especially call your attention to the condition of our currency laws. The national-bank act has ably served a great purpose in aiding the enormous business development of the country, and within ten years there has been an increase in circulation per capita from $21.41 to $33.08. For several years evidence has been accumulating that additional legislation is needed. The recurrence of each crop season emphasizes the defects of the present laws. There must soon be a revision of them, because to leave them as they are means to incur liability of business disaster. Since your body adjourned there has been a fluctuation in the interest on call money from 2 per cent to 30 per cent, and the fluctuation was even greater during the preceding six months. The Secretary of the Treasury had to step in and by wise action put a stop to the most violent period of oscillation. Even worse than such fluctuation is the advance in commercial rates and the uncertainty felt in the sufficiency of credit even at high rates. All commercial interests suffer during each crop period. Excessive rates for call money in New York attract money from the interior banks into the speculative field. This depletes the fund that would otherwise be available for commercial uses, and commercial borrowers are forced to pay abnormal rates, so that each fall a tax, in the shape of increased interest charges, is placed on the whole commerce of the country.

"The mere statement of these facts shows that our present system is seriously defective. There is

need of a change. Unfortunately, however, many of the proposed changes must be ruled from consideration because they are complicated, are not easy of comprehension, and tend to disturb existing rights and interests. We must also rule out any plan which would materially impair the value of the United States 2 per cent bonds now pledged to secure circulation, the issue of which was made under conditions peculiarly creditable to the Treasury. I do not press any especial plan. Various plans have recently been proposed by expert committees of bankers. Among the plans which are possibly feasible and which certainly should receive your consideration is that repeatedly brought to your attention by the present Secretary of the Treasury, the essential features of which have been approved by many prominent bankers and business men. According to this plan national banks should be permitted to issue a specified proportion of their capital in notes of a given kind, the issue to be taxed at so high a rate as to drive the notes back when not wanted in legitimate trade. This plan would not permit the issue of currency to give banks additional profits, but to meet the emergency presented by times of stringency.

"I do not say that this is the right system. I only advance it to emphasize my belief that there is need for the adoption of some system which shall be automatic and open to all sound banks, so as to avoid all possibility of discrimination and favoritism. Such a plan would tend to prevent the spasms

of high money and speculation which now obtain in the New York market; for at present there is too much currency at certain seasons of the year, and its accumulation at New York tempts bankers to lend it at low rates for speculative purposes; whereas at other times when the crops are being moved there is urgent need for a large but temporary increase in the currency supply. It must never be forgotten that this question concerns business men generally quite as much as bankers; especially is this true of stockmen, farmers, and business men in the West; for at present at certain seasons of the year the difference in interest rates between the East and the West is from 6 to 10 per cent, whereas in Canada the corresponding difference is but 2 per cent. Any plan must, of course, guard the interests of Western and Southern bankers as carefully as it guards the interests of New York or Chicago bankers, and must be drawn from the standpoints of the farmer and the merchant no less than from the standpoints of the city banker and the country banker."

I again urge on the Congress the need of immediate attention to this matter. We need a greater elasticity in our currency; provided, of course, that we recognize the even greater need of a safe and secure currency. There must always be the most rigid examination by the National authorities. Provision should be made for an emergency currency. The emergency issue should, of course, be made with an effective guaranty, and upon conditions

carefully prescribed by the Government. Such emergency issue must be based on adequate securities approved by the Government, and must be issued under a heavy tax. This would permit currency being issued when the demand for it was urgent, while securing its retirement as the demand fell off. It is worth investigating to determine whether officers and directors of national banks should ever be allowed to loan to themselves. Trust companies should be subject to the same supervision as banks; legislation to this effect should be enacted for the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Yet we must also remember that even the wisest legislation on the subject can only accomplish a certain amount. No legislation can by any possibility guarantee the business community against the results of speculative folly any more than it can guarantee an individual against the results of his extravagance. When an individual mortgages his house to buy an automobile he invites disaster; and when wealthy men, or men who pose as such, or are unscrupulously or foolishly eager to become such, indulge in reckless speculation—especially if it is accompanied by dishonesty—they jeopardize not only their own future but the future of all their innocent fellow-citizens, for they expose the whole business community to panic and distress.

The income account of the Nation is in a most satisfactory condition. For the six fiscal years ending with the 1st of July last, the total expendi-

tures and revenues of the National Government, exclusive of the postal revenues and expenditures, were in round numbers, revenues, $3,465,000,000, and expenditures, $3,275,000,000. The net excess of income over expenditures, including in the latter the fifty millions expended for the Panama Canal, was one hundred and ninety million dollars for the six years, an average of about thirty-one millions a year. This represents an approximation between income and outgo which it would be hard to improve. The satisfactory working of the present tariff law has been chiefly responsible for this excellent showing. Nevertheless, there is an evident and constantly growing feeling among our people that the time is rapidly approaching when our system of revenue legislation must be revised.

This country is definitely committed to the protective system and any effort to uproot it could not but cause widespread industrial disaster. In other words, the principle of the present tariff law could not with wisdom be changed. But in a country of such phenomenal growth as ours it is probably well that every dozen years or so the tariff laws should be carefully scrutinized so as to see that no excessive or improper benefits are conferred thereby, that proper revenue is provided, and that our foreign trade is encouraged. There must always be as a minimum a tariff which will not only allow for the collection of an ample revenue but which will at least make good the difference in cost of production

here and abroad; that is, the difference in the labor cost here and abroad, for the well-being of the wage-worker must ever be a cardinal point of American policy. The question should be approached purely from a business standpoint; both the time and the manner of the change being such as to arouse the minimum of agitation and disturbance in the business world, and to give the least play for selfish and factional motives. The sole consideration should be to see that the sum total of changes represents the public good. This means that the subject can not with wisdom be dealt with in the year preceding a Presidential election, because as a matter of fact experience has conclusively shown that at such a time it is impossible to get men to treat it from the standpoint of the public good. In my judgment the wise time to deal with the matter is immediately after such election.

When our tax laws are revised the question of an income tax and an inheritance tax should receive the careful attention of our legislators. In my judgment both of these taxes should be part of our system of Federal taxation. I speak diffidently about the income tax because one scheme for an income tax was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; while in addition it is a difficult tax to administer in its practical working, and great care would have to be exercised to see that it was not evaded by the very men whom it was most desirable

to have taxed, for if so evaded it would, of course, be worse than no tax at all; as the least desirable of all taxes is the tax which bears heavily upon the honest as compared with the dishonest man. Nevertheless, a graduated income tax of the proper type would be a desirable feature of Federal taxation, and it is to be hoped that one may be devised which the Supreme Court will declare constitutional. The inheritance tax, however, is both a far better method of taxation, and far more important for the purpose of having the fortunes of the country bear in proportion to their increase in size a corresponding increase and burden of taxation. The Government has the absolute right to decide as to the terms upon which a man shall receive a bequest or devise from another, and this point in the devolution of property is especially appropriate for the imposition of a tax. Laws imposing such taxes have repeatedly been placed upon the National statute books and as repeatedly declared constitutional by the courts; and these laws contained the progressive principle, that is, after a certain amount is reached the bequest or gift, in life or death, is increasingly burdened and the rate of taxation is increased in proportion to the remoteness of blood of the man receiving the bequest. These principles are recognized already in the leading civilized nations of the world. In Great Britain all the estates worth $5,000 or less are practically exempt from death duties, while the increase is such that when an estate exceeds five millions of dollars in value and passes to a distant

kinsman or stranger in blood the Government receives all told an amount equivalent to nearly a fifth of the whole estate. In France so much of an inheritance as exceeds $10,000,000 pays over a fifth to the state if it passes to a distant relative. The German law is especially interesting to us because it makes the inheritance tax an Imperial measure while allotting to the individual states of the Empire a portion of the proceeds and permitting them to impose taxes in addition to those imposed by the Imperial Government. Small inheritances are exempt, but the tax is so sharply progressive that when the inheritance is still not very large, provided it is not an agricultural or a forest land, it is taxed at the rate of 25 per cent if it goes to distant relatives. There is no reason why in the United States the National Government should not impose inheritance taxes in addition to those imposed by the States, and when we last had an inheritance tax about one-half of the States levied such taxes concurrently with the National Government, making a combined maximum rate, in some cases as high as 25 per cent. The French law has one feature which is to be heartily commended. The progressive principle is so applied that each higher rate is imposed only on the excess above the amount subject to the next lower rate; so that each increase of rate will apply only to a certain amount above a certain maximum. The tax should if possible be made to bear more heavily upon those residing without the country than within it. A heavy pro-

gressive tax upon a very large fortune is in no way such a tax upon thrift or industry as a like tax would be on a small fortune. No advantage comes either to the country as a whole or to the individuals inheriting the money by permitting the transmission in their entirety of the enormous fortunes which would be affected by such a tax; and as an incident to its function of revenue raising, such a tax would help to preserve a measurable equality of opportunity for the people of the generations growing to manhood. We have not the slightest sympathy with that socialistic idea which would try to put laziness, thriftlessness, and inefficiency on a par with industry, thrift, and efficiency, which would strive to break up not merely private property, but what is far more important, the home, the chief prop upon which our whole civilization stands. Such a theory, if ever adopted, would mean the ruin of the entire country—a ruin which would bear heaviest upon the weakest, upon those least able to shift for themselves. But proposals for legislation such as this herein advocated are directly opposed to this class of socialistic theories. Our aim is to recognize what Lincoln pointed out: The fact that there are some respects in which men are obviously not equal; but also to insist that there should be an equality of self-respect and of mutual respect, an equality of rights before the law, and at least an approximate equality in the conditions under which each man obtains the chance to show the stuff that is in him when compared to his fellows.

A few years ago there was loud complaint that the law could not be invoked against wealthy offenders. There is no such complaint now. The course of the Department of Justice during the last few years has been such as to make it evident that no man stands above the law, that no corporation is so wealthy that it can not be held to account. The Department of Justice has been as prompt to proceed against the wealthiest malefactor whose crime was one of greed and cunning as to proceed against the agitator who incites to brutal violence. Everything that can be done under the existing law, and with the existing state of public opinion, which so profoundly influences both the courts and juries, has been done. But the laws themselves need strengthening in more than one important point; they should be made more definite, so that no honest man can be led unwittingly to break them, and so that the real wrong-doer can be readily punished.

Moreover there must be the public opinion back of the laws or the laws themselves will be of no avail. At present, while the average juryman undoubtedly wishes to see trusts broken up, and is quite ready to fine the corporation itself, he is very reluctant to find the facts proven beyond a reasonable doubt when it comes to sending to jail a member of the business community for indulging in practices which are profoundly unhealthy, but which, unfortunately, the business community has grown to recognize as wellnigh normal. Both the present

condition of the law and the present temper of juries render it a task of extreme difficulty to get at the real wrong-doer in any such case, especially by imprisonment. Yet it is from every standpoint far preferable to punish the prime offender by imprisonment rather than to fine the corporation, with the attendant damage to stockholders.

The two great evils in the execution of our criminal laws to-day are sentimentality and technicality. For the latter the remedy must come from the hands of the legislatures, the courts, and the lawyers. The other must depend for its cure upon the gradual growth of a sound public opinion which shall insist that regard for the law and the demands of reason shall control all other influences and emotions in the jury box. Both of these evils must be removed or public discontent with the criminal law will continue.

Instances of abuse in the granting of injunctions in labor disputes continue to occur, and the resentment in the minds of those who feel that their rights are being invaded and their liberty of action and of speech unwarrantably restrained continues likewise to grow. Much of the attack on the use of the process of injunction is wholly without warrant; but I am constrained to express the belief that for some of it there is warrant. This question is becoming more and more one of prime importance, and unless the courts will themselves deal with it in effective manner, it is certain ultimately

to demand some form of legislative action. It would be most unfortunate for our social welfare if we should permit many honest and law-abiding citizens to feel that they had just cause for regarding our courts with hostility. I earnestly commend to the attention of the Congress this matter, so that some way may be devised which will limit the abuse of injunctions and protect those rights which from time to time it unwarrantably invades. Moreover, discontent is often expressed with the use of the process of injunction by the courts, not only in labor disputes, but where State laws are concerned. I refrain from discussion of this question as I am informed that it will soon receive the consideration of the Supreme Court.

The Federal courts must of course decide ultimately what are the respective spheres of State and Nation in connection with any law, State or National, and they must decide definitely and finally in matters affecting individual citizens, not only as to the rights and wrongs of labor but as to the rights and wrongs of capital; and the National Government must always see that the decision of the court is put into effect. The process of injunction is an essential adjunct of the court's doing its work well; and as preventive measures are always better than remedial, the wise use of this process is from every standpoint commendable. But where it is recklessly or unnecessarily used, the abuse should be censured, above all by the very men who are properly anxious to prevent any effort to shear

the courts of this necessary power. The court's decision must be final, the protest is only against the conduct of individual judges in needlessly anticipating such final decision, or in the tyrannical use of what is nominally a temporary injunction to accomplish what is in fact a permanent decision.

The loss of life and limb from railroad accidents in this country has become appalling. It is a subject of which the National Government should take supervision. It might be well to begin by providing for a Federal inspection of interstate railroads somewhat along the lines of Federal inspection of steamboats, although not going so far; perhaps at first all that it would be necessary to have would be some officer whose duty would be to investigate all accidents on interstate railroads and report in detail the causes thereof. Such an officer should make it his business to get into close touch with railroad operating men so as to become thoroughly familiar with every side of the question, the idea being to work along the lines of the present steamboat inspection law.

The National Government should be a model employer. It should demand the highest quality of service from each of its employees and it should care for all of them properly in return. Congress should adopt legislation providing limited but definite compensation for accidents to all workmen within the scope of the Federal power, including

employees of navy yards and arsenals. In other words, a model employers' liability act, far-reaching and thoroughgoing, should be enacted which should apply to all positions, public and private, over which the National Government has jurisdiction. The number of accidents to wage-workers, including those that are preventable and those that are not, has become appalling in the mechanical, manufacturing, and transportation operations of the day. It works grim hardship to the ordinary wage-worker and his family to have the effect of such an accident fall solely upon him; and, on the other hand, there are whole classes of attorneys who exist only by inciting men who may or may not have been wronged to undertake suits for negligence. As a matter of fact a suit for negligence is generally an inadequate remedy for the person injured, while it often causes altogether disproportionate annoyance to the employer. The law should be made such that the payment for accidents by the employer would be automatic instead of being a matter for lawsuits. Workmen should receive certain and definite compensation for all accidents in industry irrespective of negligence. The employer is the agent of the public and on his own responsibility and for his own profit he serves the public. When he starts in motion agencies which create risks for others, he should take all the ordinary and extraordinary risks involved; and the risk he thus at the moment assumes will ultimately be assumed, as it ought to be, by the general public. Only in this

way can the shock of the accident be diffused, instead of falling upon the man or woman least able to bear it, as is now the case. The community at large should share the burdens as well as the benefits of industry. By the proposed law, employers would gain a desirable certainty of obligation and get rid of litigation to determine it, while the workman and his family would be relieved from a crushing load. With such a policy would come increased care, and accidents would be reduced in number. The National laws providing for employers' liability on railroads engaged in interstate commerce and for safety appliances, as well as for diminishing the hours any employee of a railroad should be permitted to work, should all be strengthened wherever in actual practice they have shown weakness; they should be kept on the statute books in thoroughgoing form.

The constitutionality of the employers' liability act passed by the preceding Congress has been carried before the courts. In two jurisdictions the law has been declared unconstitutional, and in three jurisdictions its constitutionality has been affirmed. The question has been carried to the Supreme Court, the case has been heard by that tribunal, and a decision is expected at an early date. In the event that the court should affirm the constitutionality of the act, I urge further legislation along the lines advocated in my message to the preceding Congress. The practice of putting the entire burden of loss to life or limb upon the victim or the victim's family

is a form of social injustice in which the United States stands in unenviable prominence. In both our Federal and our State legislation we have, with few exceptions, scarcely gone farther than the repeal of the fellow-servant principle of the old law of liability, and in some of our States even this slight modification of a completely outgrown principle has not yet been secured. The legislation of the rest of the industrial world stands out in striking contrast to our backwardness in this respect. Since 1895 practically every country of Europe, together with Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, British Columbia, and the Cape of Good Hope, has enacted legislation embodying in one form or another the complete recognition of the principle which places upon the employer the entire trade risk in the various lines of industry. I urge upon the Congress the enactment of a law which will at the same time bring Federal legislation up to the standard already established by all the European countries, and which will serve as a stimulus to the various States to perfect their legislation in this regard.

The Congress should consider the extension of the eight-hour law. The constitutionality of the present law has recently been called into question, and the Supreme Court has decided that the existing legislation is unquestionably within the powers of the Congress. The principle of the eight-hour day should as rapidly and as far as practicable be extended to the entire work carried on by the Govern-

ment; and the present law should be amended to embrace contracts on those public works which the present wording of the act has been construed to exclude. The general introduction of the eight-hour day should be the goal toward which we should steadily tend, and the Government should set the example in this respect.

Strikes and lockouts, with their attendant loss and suffering, continue to increase. For the five years ended December 31, 1905, the number of strikes was greater than those in any previous ten years and was double the number in the preceding five years. These figures indicate the increasing need of providing some machinery to deal with this class of disturbances in the interest alike of the employer, the employee, and the general public. I renew my previous recommendation that the Congress favorably consider the matter of creating the machinery for compulsory investigation of such industrial controversies as are of sufficient magnitude and of sufficient concern to the people of the country as a whole to warrant the Federal Government in taking action.

The need for some provision for such investigation was forcibly illustrated during the past summer. A strike of telegraph operators seriously interfered with telegraphic communication, causing great damage to business interests and serious inconvenience to the general public. Appeals were made to me from many parts of the country, from city

councils, from boards of trade, from chambers of commerce, and from labor organizations, urging that steps be taken to terminate the strike. Everything that could with any propriety be done by a representative of the Government was done, without avail, and for weeks the public stood by and suffered without recourse of any kind. Had the machinery existed and had there been authority for compulsory investigation of the dispute, the public would have been placed in possession of the merits of the controversy, and public opinion would probably have brought about a prompt adjustment. Each successive step creating machinery for the adjustment of labor difficulties must be taken with caution, but we should endeavor to make progress in this direction.

The provisions of the act of 1898 creating the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of Labor a board of mediation in controversies between interstate railroads and their employees, has, for the first time, been subjected to serious tests within the past year, and the wisdom of the experiment has been fully demonstrated. The creation of a board for compulsory investigation in cases where mediation fails and arbitration is rejected is the next logical step in a progressive program.

It is certain that for some time to come there will be a constant increase absolutely, and perhaps relatively, of those among our citizens who dwell

in cities or towns of some size and who work for wages. This means that there will be an ever-increasing need to consider the problems inseparable from a great industrial civilization. Where an immense and complex business, especially in those branches relating to manufacture and transportation, is transacted by a large number of capitalists who employ a very much larger number of wage-earners, the former tend more and more to combine into corporations and the latter into unions. The relations of the capitalist and wage-worker to one another, and of each to the general public, are not always easy to adjust; and to put them and keep them on a satisfactory basis is one of the most important and one of the most delicate tasks before our whole civilization. Much of the work for the accomplishment of this end must be done by the individuals concerned themselves, whether singly or in combination; and the one fundamental fact that must never be lost track of is that the character of the average man, whether he be a man of means or a man who works with his hands, is the most important factor in solving the problem aright. But it is almost equally important to remember that without good laws it is also impossible to reach the proper solution. It is idle to hold that without good laws evils such as child labor, as the overworking of women, as the failure to protect employees from loss of life or limb, can be effectively reached, any more than the evils of rebates and stock-watering can be reached

without good laws. To fail to stop these practices by legislation means to force honest men into them, because otherwise the dishonest who surely will take advantage of them will have everything their own way. If the States will correct their evils, well and good; but the Nation must stand ready to aid them.

No question growing out of our rapid and complex industrial development is more important than that of the employment of women and children. The presence of women in industry reacts with extreme directness upon the character of the home and upon family life, and the conditions surrounding the employment of children bear a vital relation to our future citizenship. Our legislation in those areas under the control of the Congress is very much behind the legislation of our more progressive States. A thorough and comprehensive measure should be adopted at this session of the Congress relating to the employment of women and children in the District of Columbia and the Territories. The investigation into the condition of women and children wage-earners recently authorized and directed by the Congress is now being carried on in the various States, and I recommend that the appropriation made last year for beginning this work be renewed, in order that we may have the thorough and comprehensive investigation which the subject demands. The National Government has as an ultimate resort for control of child labor the use of the interstate commerce clause to prevent the products of child labor from entering into inter-

state commerce. But before using this it ought certainly to enact model laws on the subject for the Territories under its own immediate control.

There is one fundamental proposition which can be laid down as regards all these matters, namely: While honesty by itself will not solve the problem, yet the insistence upon honesty—not merely technical honesty, but honesty in purpose and spirit—is an essential element in arriving at a right conclusion. Vice in its cruder and more archaic forms shocks everybody; but there is very urgent need that public opinion should be just as severe in condemnation of the vice which hides itself behind class or professional loyalty, or which denies that it is vice if it can escape conviction in the courts. The public and the representatives of the public, the high officials, whether on the bench or in executive or legislative positions, need to remember that often the most dangerous criminals, so far as the life of the Nation is concerned, are not those who commit the crimes known to and condemned by the popular conscience for centuries, but those who commit crimes only rendered possible by the complex conditions of our modern industrial life. It makes not a particle of difference whether these crimes are committed by a capitalist or by a laborer, by a leading banker or manufacturer or railroad man, or by a leading representative of a labor union. Swindling in stocks, corrupting legislatures, making fortunes by the inflation of securities, by wrecking railroads, by destroying competitors through rebates—these

forms of wrong-doing in the capitalist, are far more infamous than any ordinary form of embezzlement or forgery; yet it is a matter of extreme difficulty to secure the punishment of the man most guilty of them, most responsible for them. The business man who condones such conduct stands on a level with the labor man who deliberately supports a corrupt demagogue and agitator, whether head of a union or head of some municipality, because he is said to have "stood by the union." The members of the business community, the educators, or clergymen, who condone and encourage the first kind of wrong-doing, are no more dangerous to the community, but are morally even worse, than the labor men who are guilty of the second type of wrong-doing, because less is to be pardoned those who have no such excuse as is furnished either by ignorance or by dire need.

When the Department of Agriculture was founded there was much sneering as to its usefulness. No department of the Government, however, has more emphatically vindicated its usefulness, and none save the Post-Office Department comes so continually and intimately into touch with the people. The two citizens whose welfare is in the aggregate most vital to the welfare of the Nation, and therefore to the welfare of all other citizens, are the wage-worker who does manual labor and the tiller of the soil, the farmer. There are, of course, kinds of labor where the work must be

purely mental, and there are other kinds of labor where, under existing conditions, very little demand indeed is made upon the mind, though I am glad to say that the proportion of men engaged in this kind of work is diminishing. But in any community with the solid, healthy qualities which make up a really great nation the bulk of the people should do work which calls for the exercise of both body and mind. Progress can not permanently exist in the abandonment of physical labor, but in the development of physical labor, so that it shall represent more and more the work of the trained mind in the trained body. Our school system is gravely defective in so far as it puts a premium upon mere literary training and tends therefore to train the boy away from the farm and the workshop. Nothing is more needed than the best type of industrial school, the school for mechanical industries in the city, the school for practically teaching agriculture in the country. The calling of the skilled tiller of the soil, the calling of the skilled mechanic, should alike be recognized as professions, just as emphatically as the callings of lawyer, doctor, merchant, or clerk. The schools should recognize this fact and it should equally be recognized in popular opinion. The young man who has the farsightedness and courage to recognize it and to get over the idea that it makes a difference whether what he earns is called salary or wages, and who refuses to enter the crowded field of the so-called professions, and takes to constructive industry instead, is reason-

ably sure of an ample reward in earnings, in health, in opportunity to marry early, and to establish a home with a fair amount of freedom from worry. It should be one of our prime objects to put both the farmer and the mechanic on a higher plane of efficiency and reward, so as to increase their effectiveness in the economic world, and therefore the dignity, the remuneration, and the power of their positions in the social world.

No growth of cities, no growth of wealth, can make up for any loss in either the number or the character of the farming population. We of the United States should realize this above almost all other peoples. We began our existence as a nation of farmers, and in every great crisis of the past a peculiar dependence has had to be placed upon the farming population; and this dependence has hitherto been justified. But it can not be justified in the future if agriculture is permitted to sink in the scale as compared with other employments. We can not afford to lose that pre-eminently typical American, the farmer, who owns his own medium-sized farm. To have his place taken by either a class of small peasant proprietors, or by a class of great landlords with tenant-farmed estates would be a veritable calamity. The growth of our cities is a good thing but only in so far as it does not mean a growth at the expense of the country farmer. We must welcome the rise of physical sciences in their application to agricultural practices, and we must do all we can to render country

conditions more easy and pleasant. There are forces which now tend to bring about both these results, but they are, as yet, in their infancy. The National Government through the Department of Agriculture should do all it can by joining with the State governments and with independent associations of farmers to encourage the growth in the open farming country of such institutional and social movements as will meet the demand of the best type of farmers, both for the improvement of their farms and for the betterment of the life itself. The Department of Agriculture has in many places, perhaps especially in certain districts of the South, accomplished an extraordinary amount by co-operating with and teaching the farmers through their associations, on their own soil, how to increase their income by managing their farms better than they were hitherto managed. The farmer must not lose his independence, his initiative, his rugged self-reliance, yet he must learn to work in the heartiest co-operation with his fellows, exactly as the business man has learned to work; and he must prepare to use to constantly better advantage the knowledge that can be obtained from agricultural colleges, while he must insist upon a practical curriculum in the schools in which his children are taught. The Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce and Labor both deal with the fundamental needs of our people in the production of raw material and its manufacture and distribution, and, therefore, with the welfare of

those who produce it in the raw state, and of those who manufacture and distribute it. The Department of Commerce and Labor has but recently been founded, but has already justified its existence; while the Department of Agriculture yields to no other in the Government in the practical benefits which it produces in proportion to the public money expended. It must continue in the future to deal with growing crops as it has dealt in the past, but it must still further extend its field of usefulness hereafter by dealing with live men, through a far-reaching study and treatment of the problems of farm life alike from the industrial and economic and social standpoint. Farmers must co-operate with one another and with the Government, and the Government can best give its aid through associations of farmers, so as to deliver to the farmer the large body of agricultural knowledge which has been accumulated by the National and State Governments and by the agricultural colleges and schools.

The grain-producing industry of the country, one of the most important in the United States, deserves special consideration at the hands of the Congress. Our grain is sold almost exclusively by grades. To secure satisfactory results in our home markets and to facilitate our trade abroad, these grades should approximate the highest degree of uniformity and certainty. The present diverse methods of inspection and grading throughout the country under different laws and boards, result in confusion and lack of uniformity, destroying that

confidence which is necessary for healthful trade. Complaints against the present methods have continued for years and they are growing in volume and intensity, not only in this country but abroad. I therefore suggest to the Congress the advisability of a National system of inspection and grading of grain entering into interstate and foreign commerce as a remedy for the present evils.

The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our National life. We must maintain for our civilization the adequate material basis without which that civilization can not exist. We must show foresight, we must look ahead. As a nation we not only enjoy a wonderful measure of present prosperity, but if this prosperity is used aright it is an earnest of future success such as no other nation will have. The reward of foresight for this Nation is great and easily foretold. But there must be the look ahead, there must be a realization of the fact that to waste, to destroy, our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed. For the last few years, through several agencies, the Government has been endeavoring to get our people to look ahead and to substitute a planned and orderly development of

our resources in place of a haphazard striving for immediate profit. Our great river systems should be developed as National water highways; the Mississippi, with its tributaries, standing first in importance, and the Columbia second, although there are many others of importance on the Pacific, the Atlantic, and the Gulf slopes. The National Government should undertake this work, and I hope a beginning will be made in the present Congress, and the greatest of all our rivers, the Mississippi, should receive especial attention. From the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi there should be a deep waterway, with deep waterways leading from it to the East and West. Such a waterway would practically mean the extension of our coast line into the very heart of our country. it would be of incalculable benefit to our people. If begun at once it can be carried through in time appreciably to relieve the congestion of our great freight-carrying lines of railroads. The work should be systematically and continuously carried forward in accordance with some well-conceived plan. The main streams should be improved to the highest point of efficiency before the improvement of the branches is attempted; and the work should be kept free from every taint of recklessness or jobbery. The inland waterways which lie just back of the whole eastern and southern coasts should likewise be developed. Moreover, the development of our waterways involves many other important water problems, all of which should be considered as part

of the same general scheme. The Government dams should be used to produce hundreds of thousands of horse-power as an incident to improving navigation; for the annual value of the unused water-power of the United States perhaps exceeds the annual value of the products of all our mines. As an incident to creating the deep waterway down the Mississippi, the Government should build along its whole lower length levees which, taken together with the control of the headwaters, will at once and forever put a complete stop to all threat of floods in the immensely fertile Delta region. The territory lying adjacent to the Mississippi along its lower course will thereby become one of the most prosperous and populous, as it already is one of the most fertile, farming regions in all the world. I have appointed an Inland Waterways Commission to study and outline a comprehensive scheme of development along all the lines indicated. Later I shall lay its report before the Congress.

Irrigation should be far more extensively developed than at present, not only in the States of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, but in many others, as, for instance, in large portions of the South Atlantic and Gulf States, where it should go hand in hand with the reclamation of swamp land. The Federal Government should seriously devote itself to this task, realizing that utilization of waterways and water-power, forestry, irrigation, and the reclamation of lands threatened with overflow,

are all interdependent parts of the same problem. The work of the Reclamation Service in developing the larger opportunities of the western half of our country for irrigation is more important than almost any other movement. The constant purpose of the Government in connection with the Reclamation Service has been to use the water resources of the public lands for the ultimate greatest good of the greatest number; in other words, to put upon the land permanent home-makers, to use and develop it for themselves and for their children and children's children. There has been, of course, opposition to this work; opposition from some interested men who desire to exhaust the land for their own immediate profit without regard to the welfare of the next generation, and opposition from honest and well-meaning men who did not fully understand the subject or who did not look far enough ahead. This opposition is, I think, dying away, and our people are understanding that it would be utterly wrong to allow a few individuals to exhaust for their own temporary personal profit the resources which ought to be developed through use so as to be conserved for the permanent common advantage of the people as a whole.

The effort of the Government to deal with the public land has been based upon the same principle as that of the Reclamation Service. The land law system which was designed to meet the needs of the fertile and well-watered regions of the Middle West has

largely broken down when applied to the dryer regions of the Great Plains, the mountains, and much of the Pacific Slope, where a farm of 160 acres is inadequate for self-support. In these regions the system lent itself to fraud, and much land passed out of the hands of the Government without passing into the hands of the home-maker. The Department of the Interior and the Department of Justice joined in prosecuting the offenders against the law; and they have accomplished much, while where the administration of the law has been defective it has been changed. But the laws themselves are defective. Three years ago a public lands commission was appointed to scrutinize the law, and defects, and recommend a remedy. Their examination specifically showed the existence of great fraud upon the public domain, and their recommendations for changes in the law were made with the design of conserving the natural resources of every part of the public lands by putting it to its best use. Especial attention was called to the prevention of settlement by the passage of great areas of public lands into the hands of a few men, and to the enormous waste caused by unrestricted grazing upon the open range. The recommendations of the Public Lands Commission are sound, for they are especially in the interest of the actual home-maker; and where the small home-maker can not at present utilize the land they provide that the Government shall keep control of it so that it may not be monopolized by a few men. The Congress has not

yet acted upon these recommendations; but they are so just and proper, so essential to our National welfare, that I feel confident, if the Congress will take time to consider them, that they will ultimately be adopted.

Some such legislation as that proposed is essential in order to preserve the great stretches of public grazing land which are unfit for cultivation under present methods and are valuable only for the forage which they supply. These stretches amount in all to some 300,000,000 acres, and are open to the free grazing of cattle, sheep, horses, and goats, without restriction. Such a system, or rather such lack of system, means that the range is not so much used as wasted by abuse. As the West settles the range becomes more and more over-grazed. Much of it can not be used to advantage unless it is fenced, for fencing is the only way by which to keep in check the owners of nomad flocks which roam hither and thither, utterly destroying the pastures and leaving a waste behind so that their presence is incompatible with the presence of home-makers. The existing fences are all illegal. Some of them represent the improper exclusion of actual settlers, actual home-makers, from territory which is usurped by great cattle companies. Some of them represent what is in itself a proper effort to use the range for those upon the land, and to prevent its use by nomadic outsiders. All these fences, those that are hurtful and those that are beneficial, are alike illegal and must come down. But it is an out-

rage that the law should necessitate such action on the part of the Administration. The unlawful fencing of public lands for private grazing must be stopped, but the necessity which occasioned it must be provided for. The Federal Government should have control of the range, whether by permit or lease, as local necessities may determine. Such control could secure the great benefit of legitimate fencing, while at the same time securing and promoting the settlement of the country. In some places it may be that the tracts of range adjacent to the homesteads of actual settlers should be allotted to them severally or in common for the summer grazing of their stock. Elsewhere it may be that a lease system would serve the purpose; the leases to be temporary and subject to the rights of settlement, and the amount charged being large enough merely to permit of the efficient and beneficial control of the range by the Government, and of the payment to the county of the equivalent of what it would otherwise receive in taxes. The destruction of the public range will continue until some such laws as these are enacted. Fully to prevent the fraud in the public lands which, through the joint action of the Interior Department and the Department of Justice, we have been endeavoring to prevent, there must be further legislation, and especially a sufficient appropriation to permit the Department of the Interior to examine certain classes of entries on the ground before they pass into private ownership. The Government should

part with its title only to the actual home-maker, not to the profit-maker who does not care to make a home. Our prime object is to secure the rights and guard the interests of the small ranchman, the man who plows and pitches hay for himself. It is this small ranchman, this actual settler and home-maker, who in the long run is most hurt by permitting thefts of the public land in whatever form.

Optimism is a good characteristic, but if carried to an excess it becomes foolishness. We are prone to speak of the resources of this country as inexhaustible; this is not so. The mineral wealth of the country, the coal, iron, oil, gas, and the like, does not reproduce itself, and therefore is certain to be exhausted ultimately; and wastefulness in dealing with it to-day means that our descendants will feel the exhaustion a generation or two before they otherwise would. But there are certain other forms of waste which could be entirely stopped—the waste of soil by washing, for instance, which is among the most dangerous of all wastes now in progress in the United States, is easily preventable, so that this present enormous loss of fertility is entirely unnecessary. The preservation or replacement of the forests is one of the most important means of preventing this loss. We have made a beginning in forest preservation, but it is only a beginning. At present lumbering is the fourth greatest industry in the United States; and yet, so rapid has been the rate of exhaustion of timber in

the United States in the past, and so rapidly is the remainder being exhausted, that the country is unquestionably on the verge of a timber famine which will be felt in every household in the land. There has already been a rise in the price of lumber, but there is certain to be a more rapid and heavier rise in the future. The present annual consumption of lumber is certainly three times as great as the annual growth; and if the consumption and growth continue unchanged, practically all our lumber will be exhausted in another generation, while long before the limit to complete exhaustion is reached the growing scarcity will make itself felt in many blighting ways upon our national welfare. About 20 per cent of our forested territory is now reserved in national forests; but these do not include the most valuable timber lands, and in any event the proportion is too small to expect that the reserves can accomplish more than a mitigation of the trouble which is ahead for the Nation. Far more drastic action is needed. Forests can be lumbered so as to give to the public the full use of their mercantile timber without the slightest detriment to the forest, any more than it is a detriment to a farm to furnish a harvest; so that there is no parallel between forests and mines, which can only be completely used by exhaustion. But forests, if used as all our forests have been used in the past and as most of them are still used, will be either wholly destroyed, or so damaged that many decades have to pass before effective use can be made of them

again. All these facts are so obvious that it is extraordinary that it should be necessary to repeat them. Every business man in the land, every writer in the newspapers, every man or woman of an ordinary school education, ought to be able to see that immense quantities of timber are used in the country, that the forests which supply this timber are rapidly being exhausted, and that, if no change takes place, exhaustion will come comparatively soon, and that the effects of it will be felt severely in the every-day life of our people. Surely, when these facts are so obvious, there should be no delay in taking preventive measures. Yet we seem as a Nation to be willing to proceed in this matter with happy-go-lucky indifference even to the immediate future. It is this attitude which permits the self-interest of a very few persons to weigh for more than the ultimate interest of all our people. There are persons who find it to their immense pecuniary benefit to destroy the forests by lumbering. They are to be blamed for thus sacrificing the future of the Nation as a whole to their own self-interest of the moment; but heavier blame attaches to the people at large for permitting such action, whether in the White Mountains, in the southern Alleghenies, or in the Rockies and Sierras. A big lumbering company, impatient for immediate returns and not caring to look far enough ahead, will often deliberately destroy all the good timber in a region, hoping afterward to move on to some new country. The shiftless man of small means, who does not

care to become an actual home-maker but would like immediate profit, will find it to his advantage to take up timber land simply to turn it over to such a big company, and leave it valueless for future settlers. A big mine owner, anxious only to develop his mine at the moment, will care only to cut all the timber that he wishes without regard to the future—probably not looking ahead to the condition of the country when the forests are exhausted, any more than he does to the condition when the mine is worked out. I do not blame these men nearly as much as I blame the supine public opinion, the indifferent public opinion, which permits their action to go unchecked. Of course to check the waste of timber means that there must be on the part of the public the acceptance of a temporary restriction in the lavish use of the timber, in order to prevent the total loss of this use in the future. There are plenty of men in public and private life who actually advocate the continuance of the present system of unchecked and wasteful extravagance, using as an argument the fact that to check it will of course mean interference with the ease and comfort of certain people who now get lumber at less cost than they ought to pay, at the expense of the future generations. Some of these persons actually demand that the present forest reserves be thrown open to destruction, because, forsooth, they think that thereby the price of lumber could be put down again for two or three or more years. Their attitude is precisely like that of an

agitator protesting against the outlay of money by farmers on manure and in taking care of their farms generally. Undoubtedly, if the average farmer were content absolutely to ruin his farm, he could for two or three years avoid spending any money on it, and yet make a good deal of money out of it. But only a savage would, in his private affairs, show such reckless disregard of the future; yet it is precisely this reckless disregard of the future which the opponents of the forestry system are now endeavoring to get the people of the United States to show. The only trouble with the movement for the preservation of our forests is that it has not gone nearly far enough, and was not begun soon enough. It is a most fortunate thing, however, that we began it when we did. We should acquire in the Appalachian and White Mountain regions all the forest lands that it is possible to acquire for the use of the Nation. These lands, because they form a National asset, are as emphatically National as the rivers which they feed, and which flow through so many States before they reach the ocean.

There should be no tariff on any forest product grown in this country; and, in especial, there should be no tariff on wood pulp; due notice of the change being of course given to those engaged in the business so as to enable them to adjust themselves to the new conditions. The repeal of the duty on wood pulp should if possible be accompanied by an

agreement with Canada that there shall be no export duty on Canadian pulp wood.

In the eastern United States the mineral fuels have already passed into the hands of large private owners, and those of the West are rapidly following. It is obvious that these fuels should be conserved and not wasted, and it would be well to protect the people against unjust and extortionate prices, so far as that can still be done. What has been accomplished in the great oil fields of the Indian Territory by the action of the Administration offers a striking example of the good results of such a policy. In my judgment the Government should have the right to keep the fee of the coal, oil, and gas fields in its own possession and to lease the rights to develop them under proper regulations; or else, if the Congress will not adopt this method, the coal deposits should be sold under limitations, to conserve them as public utilities, the right to mine coal being separated from the title to the soil. The regulations should permit coal lands to be worked in sufficient quantity by the several corporations. The present limitations have been absurd, excessive, and serve no useful purpose, and often render it necessary that there should be either fraud or else abandonment of the work of getting out the coal.

Work on the Panama Canal is proceeding in a highly satisfactory manner. In March last, John F. Stevens, chairman of the Commission and chief

engineer, resigned, and the Commission was reorganized and constituted as follows: Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Goethals, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, chairman and chief engineer; Major D. D. Gaillard, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; Major William L. Sibert, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; Civil Engineer H. H. Rousseau, United States Navy; Mr. J. C. S. Blackburn; Colonel W. C. Gorgas, United States Army, and Mr. Jackson Smith, Commissioners. This change of authority and direction went into effect on April 1, without causing a perceptible check to the progress of the work. In March the total excavation in the Culebra Cut, where effort was chiefly concentrated, was 815,270 cubic yards. In April this was increased to 879,527 cubic yards. There was a considerable decrease in the output for May and June owing partly to the advent of the rainy season and partly to temporary trouble with the steam-shovel men over the question of wages. This trouble was settled satisfactorily to all parties, and in July the total excavation advanced materially, and in August the grand total from all points in the canal prism by steam shovels and dredges exceeded all previous United States records, reaching 1,274,404 cubic yards. In September this record was eclipsed, and a total of 1,517,412 cubic yards was removed. Of this amount 1,481,307 cubic yards were from the canal prism and 36,105 cubic yards were from accessory works. These results were achieved in the rainy season with a rainfall in Au-

gust of 11.89 inches and in September of 11.65 inches. Finally, in October, the record was again eclipsed, the total excavation being 1,868,729 cubic yards; a truly extraordinary record, especially in view of the heavy rainfall, which was 17.1 inches. In fact, experience during the last two rainy seasons demonstrates that the rains are a less serious obstacle to progress than has hitherto been supposed.

Work on the locks and dams at Gatun, which began actively in March last, has advanced so far that it is thought that masonry work on the locks can be begun within fifteen months. In order to remove all doubt as to the satisfactory character of the foundations for the locks of the canal, the Secretary of War requested three eminent civil engineers, of special experience in such construction, Alfred Noble, Frederic P. Stearns, and John R. Freeman, to visit the Isthmus and make thorough personal investigations of the sites. These gentlemen went to the Isthmus in April, and by means of test pits which had been dug for the purpose, they inspected the proposed foundations, and also examined the borings that had been made. In their report to the Secretary of War, under date of May 2, 1907, they said: "We found that all of the locks, of the dimensions now proposed, will rest upon rock of such character that it will furnish a safe and stable foundation." Subsequent new borings, conducted by the present Commission, have fully confirmed this verdict. They show that the locks

will rest on rock for their entire length. The cross-section of the dam and method of construction will be such as to insure against any slip or sloughing off. Similar examination of the foundations of the locks and dams on the Pacific side are in progress. I believe that the locks should be made of a width of 120 feet.

Last winter bids were requested and received for doing the work of canal construction by contract. None of them was found to be satisfactory and all were rejected. It is the unanimous opinion of the present Commission that the work can be done better, more cheaply, and more quickly by the Government than by private contractors. Fully 80 per cent of the entire plant needed for construction has been purchased or contracted for; machine shops have been erected and equipped for making all needed repairs to the plant; many thousands of employees have been secured; an effective organization has been perfected; a recruiting system is in operation which is capable of furnishing more labor than can be used advantageously; employees are well sheltered and well fed; salaries paid are satisfactory, and the work is not only going forward smoothly, but it is producing results far in advance of the most sanguine anticipations. Under these favorable conditions, a change in the method of prosecuting the work would be unwise and unjustifiable, for it would inevitably disorganize existing conditions, check progress, and increase the cost and lengthen the time of completing the canal.

The chief engineer and all his professional associates are firmly convinced that the 85 foot level lock canal which they are constructing is the best that could be desired. Some of them had doubts on this point when they went to the Isthmus. As the plans have developed under their direction their doubts have been dispelled. While they may decide upon changes in detail as construction advances, they are in hearty accord in approving the general plan. They believe that it provides a canal not only adequate to all demands that will be made upon it but superior in every way to a sea-level canal. I concur in this belief.

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress a postal savings bank system, as recommended by the Postmaster-General. The primary object is to encourage among our people economy and thrift and by the use of postal savings banks to give them an opportunity to husband their resources, particularly those who have not the facilities at hand for depositing their money in savings banks. Viewed, however, from the experience of the past few weeks, it is evident that the advantages of such an institution are still more far-reaching. Timid depositors have withdrawn their savings for the time being from national banks, trust companies, and savings banks; individuals have hoarded their cash and the workingmen their earnings; all of which money has been witheld and kept in hiding or in the safe deposit box to the detriment of pros-

perity. Through the agency of the postal savings banks such money would be restored to the channels of trade, to the mutual benefit of capital and labor.

I further commend to the Congress the consideration of the Postmaster-General's recommendation for an extension of the parcel post, especially on the rural routes. There are now 38,215 rural routes, serving nearly 15,000,000 people who do not have the advantages of the inhabitants of cities in obtaining their supplies. These recommendations have been drawn up to benefit the farmer and the country storekeeper; otherwise, I should not favor them, for I believe that it is good policy for our Government to do everything possible to aid the small town and the country district. It is desirable that the country merchant should not be crushed out.

The fourth-class postmasters' convention has passed a very strong resolution in favor of placing the fourth-class postmasters under the civil-service law. The Administration has already put into effect the policy of refusing to remove any fourth-class postmasters save for reasons connected with the good of the service; and it is endeavoring so far as possible to remove them from the domain of partisan politics. It would be a most desirable thing to put the fourth-class postmasters in the classified service. It is possible that this might be done without Congressional action but, as the matter is debatable, I earnestly recommend that the Congress enact a law providing that they be included under the civil-service law and put in the classified service.

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Oklahoma has become a State, standing on a full equality with her elder sisters, and her future is assured by her great natural resources. The duty of the National Government to guard the personal and property rights of the Indians within her borders remains of course unchanged.

I reiterate my recommendations of last year as regards Alaska. Some form of local self-government should be provided, as simple and inexpensive as possible; it is impossible for the Congress to devote the necessary time to all the little details of necessary Alaskan legislation. Road building and railway building should be encouraged. The Governor of Alaska should be given an ample appropriation wherewith to organize a force to preserve the public peace. Whiskey selling to the natives should be made a felony. The coal land laws should be changed so as to meet the peculiar needs of the Territory. This should be attended to at once; for the present laws permit individuals to locate large areas of the public domain for speculative purposes; and cause an immense amount of trouble, fraud, and litigation. There should be another judicial division established. As early as possible lighthouses and buoys should be established as aids to navigation, especially in and about Prince William Sound, and the survey of the coast completed. There is need of liberal appropriations for lighting and buoying the southern coast and improving the aids to navigation in southeastern Alaska. One of the great

industries of Alaska, as of Puget Sound and the Columbia, is salmon fishing. Gradually, by reason of lack of proper laws, this industry is being ruined; it should now be taken in charge, and effectively protected, by the United States Government.

The courage and enterprise of the citizens of the far Northwest in their projected Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, to be held in 1909, should receive liberal encouragement. This exposition is not sentimental in its conception, but seeks to exploit the natural resources of Alaska and to promote the commerce, trade, and industry of the Pacific States with their neighboring States and with our insular possessions and the neighboring countries of the Pacific. The exposition asks no loan from the Congress but seeks appropriations for National exhibits and exhibits of the Western dependencies of the General Government. The State of Washington and the city of Seattle have shown the characteristic Western enterprise in large donations for the conduct of this exposition in which other States are lending generous assistance.

The unfortunate failure of the shipping bill at the last session of the last Congress was followed by the taking off of certain Pacific steamships, which has greatly hampered the movement of passengers between Hawaii and the mainland. Unless the Congress is prepared by positive encouragement to secure proper facilities in the way of shipping between Hawaii and the mainland, then the coast-

wise shipping laws should be so far relaxed as to prevent Hawaii suffering as it is now suffering. I again call your attention to the capital importance from every standpoint of making Pearl Harbor available for the largest deep-water vessels, and of suitably fortifying the island.

The Secretary of War has gone to the Philippines. On his return I shall submit to you his report on the islands.

I again recommend that the rights of citizenship be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico.

A bureau of mines should be created under the control and direction of the Secretary of the Interior; the bureau to have power to collect statistics and make investigations in all matters pertaining to mining and particularly to the accidents and dangers of the industry. If this can not now be done, at least additional appropriations should be given the Interior Department to be used for the study of mining conditions, for the prevention of fraudulent mining schemes, for carrying on the work of mapping the mining districts, for studying methods for minimizing the accidents and dangers in the industry; in short, to aid in all proper ways the development of the mining industry.

I strongly recommend to the Congress to provide funds for keeping up the Hermitage, the home of

Andrew Jackson; these funds to be used through the existing Hermitage Association for the preservation of a historic building which should ever be dear to Americans.

I further recommend that a naval monument be established in the Vicksburg National Park. This national park gives a unique opportunity for commemorating the deeds of those gallant men who fought on water, no less than of those who fought on land, in the great civil war.

Legislation should be enacted at the present session of the Congress for the Thirteenth Census. The establishment of the permanent Census Bureau affords the opportunity for a better census than we have ever had, but in order to realize the full advantage of the permanent organization, ample time must be given for preparation.

There is a constantly growing interest in this country in the question of the public health. At last the public mind is awake to the fact that many diseases, notably tuberculosis, are National scourges. The work of the State and city boards of health should be supplemented by a constantly increasing interest on the part of the National Government. The Congress has already provided a bureau of public health and has provided for a hygienic laboratory. There are other valuable laws relating to the public health connected with the various

departments. This whole branch of the Government should be strengthened and aided in every way.

I call attention to two Government commissions which I have appointed and which have already done excellent work. The first of these has to do with the organization of the scientific work of the Government, which has grown up wholly without plan and is in consequence so unwisely distributed among the Executive Departments that much of its effect is lost for the lack of proper co-ordination. This commission's chief object is to introduce a planned and orderly development and operation in the place of the ill-assorted and often ineffective grouping and methods of work which have prevailed. This can not be done without legislation, nor would it be feasible to deal in detail with so complex an administrative problem by specific provisions of law. I recommend that the President be given authority to concentrate related lines of work and reduce duplication by Executive order through transfer and consolidation of lines of work.

The second committee, that on Department methods, was instructed to investigate and report upon the changes needed to place the conduct of the executive force of the Government on the most economical and effective basis in the light of the best modern business practice. The committee has made very satisfactory progress. Antiquated practices and bureaucratic ways have been abolished, and a

general renovation of departmental methods has been inaugurated. All that can be done by Executive order has already been accomplished or will be put into effect in the near future. The work of the main committee and its several assistant committees has produced a wholesome awakening on the part of the great body of officers and employees engaged in Government work. In nearly every Department and office there has been a careful self-inspection for the purpose of remedying any defects before they could be made the subject of adverse criticism. This has led individuals to a wider study of the work on which they were engaged, and this study has resulted in increasing their efficiency in their respective lines of work. There are recommendations of special importance from the committee on the subject of personnel and the classification of salaries which will require legislative action before they can be put into effect. It is my intention to submit to the Congress in the near future a special message on those subjects.

Under our form of government voting is not merely a right but a duty, and, moreover, a fundamental and necessary duty if a man is to be a good citizen. It is well to provide that corporations shall not contribute to Presidential or National campaigns, and furthermore to provide for the publication of both contributions and expenditures. There is, however, always danger in laws of this kind, which from their very nature are difficult of enforcement;

the danger being lest they be obeyed only by the honest, and disobeyed by the unscrupulous, so as to act only as a penalty upon honest men. Moreover, no such law would hamper an unscrupulous man of unlimited means from buying his own way into office. There is a very radical measure which would, I believe, work a substantial improvement in our system of conducting a campaign, although I am well aware that it will take some time for people so to familiarize themselves with such a proposal as to be willing to consider its adoption. The need for collecting large campaign funds would vanish if Congress provided an appropriation for the proper and legitimate expenses of each of the great national parties, an appropriation ample enough to meet the necessity for thorough organization and machinery, which requires a large expenditure of money. Then the stipulation should be made that no party receiving campaign funds from the Treasury should accept more than a fixed amount from any individual subscriber or donor; and the necessary publicity for receipts and expenditures could without difficulty be provided.

There should be a National gallery of art established in the capital city of this country. This is important not merely to the artistic but to the material welfare of the country; and the people are to be congratulated on the fact that the movement to establish such a gallery is taking definite form under the guidance of the Smithsonian Institution.

So far from there being a tariff on works of art brought into the country, their importation should be encouraged in every way. There have been no sufficient collections of objects of art by the Government, and what collections have been acquired are scattered and are generally placed in unsuitable and imperfectly lighted galleries.

The Biological Survey is quietly working for the good of our agricultural interests, and is an excellent example of a Government bureau which conducts original scientific research the findings of which are of much practical utility. For more than twenty years it has studied the food habits of birds and mammals that are injurious or beneficial to agriculture, horticulture, and forestry; has distributed illustrated bulletins on the subject, and has labored to secure legislative protection for the beneficial species. The cotton boll-weevil, which has recently overspread the cotton belt of Texas and is steadily extending its range, is said to cause an annual loss of about $3,000,000. The Biological Survey has ascertained and given wide publicity to the fact that at least 43 kinds of birds prey upon this destructive insect. It has discovered that 57 species of birds feed upon scale-insects—dreaded enemies of the fruit grower. It has shown that woodpeckers as a class, by destroying the larvæ of wood-boring insects, are so essential to tree life that it is doubtful if our forests could exist without them. It has shown that cuckoos and orioles are

the natural enemies of the leaf-eating caterpillars that destroy our shade and fruit trees; that our quails and sparrows consume annually hundreds of tons of seeds of noxious weeds; that hawks and owls as a class (excepting the few that kill poultry and game birds) are markedly beneficial, spending their lives in catching grasshoppers, mice, and other pests that prey upon the products of husbandry. It has conducted field experiments for the purpose of devising and perfecting simple methods for holding in check the hordes of destructive rodents—rats, mice, rabbits, gophers, prairie dogs, and ground squirrels—which annually destroy crops worth many millions of dollars; and it has published practical directions for the destruction of wolves and coyotes on the stock ranges of the West, resulting during the past year in an estimated saving of cattle and sheep valued at upward of a million dollars.

It has inaugurated a system of inspection at the principal ports of entry on both Atlantic and Pacific Coasts by means of which the introduction of noxious mammals and birds is prevented, thus keeping out the mongoose and certain birds which are as much to be dreaded as the previously introduced English sparrow and the house rats and mice.

In the interest of game protection it has co-operated with local officials in every State in the Union, has striven to promote uniform legislation in the several States, has rendered important service in enforcing the Federal law regulating interstate

traffic in game, and has shown how game protection may be made to yield a large revenue to the State—a revenue amounting in the case of Illinois to $128,000 in a single year.

The Biological Survey has explored the faunas and floras of America with reference to the distribution of animals and plants; it has defined and mapped the natural life areas—areas in which, by reason of prevailing climatic conditions, certain kinds of animals and plants occur—and has pointed out the adaptability of these areas to the cultivation of particular crops. The results of these investigations are not only of high educational value but are worth each year to the progressive farmers of the country many times the cost of maintaining the Survey, which, it may be added, is exceedingly small. I recommend to Congress that this bureau, whose usefulness is seriously handicapped by lack of funds, be granted an appropriation in some degree commensurate with the importance of the work it is doing.

I call your especial attention to the unsatisfactory condition of our foreign mail service, which because of the lack of American steamship lines is now largely done through foreign lines, and which, particularly so far as South and Central America are concerned, is done in a manner which constitutes a serious barrier to the extension of our commerce.

The time has come, in my judgment, to set to

work seriously to make our ocean mail service correspond more closely with our recent commercial and political development. A beginning was made by the ocean mail act of March 3, 1891, but even at that time the act was known to be inadequate in various particulars. Since that time events have moved rapidly in our history. We have acquired Hawaii, the Philippines, and lesser islands in the Pacific. We are steadily prosecuting the great work of uniting at the Isthmus the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific. To a greater extent than seemed probable even a dozen years ago, we may look to an American future on the sea worthy of the traditions of our past. As the first step in that direction, and the step most feasible at the present time, I recommend the extension of the ocean mail act of 1891. That act has stood for some years free from successful criticism of its principle and purpose. It was based on theories of the obligations of a great maritime nation, undisputed in our own land and followed by other nations since the beginning of steam navigation. Briefly those theories are, that it is the duty of a first-class power so far as practicable to carry its ocean mails under its own flag; that the fast ocean steamships and their crews, required for such mail service, are valuable auxiliaries to the sea power of a nation. Furthermore, the construction of such steamships insures the maintenance in an efficient condition of the shipyards in which our battleships must be built.

The expenditure of public money for the per-

formance of such necessary functions of government is certainly warranted, nor is it necessary to dwell upon the incidental benefits to our foreign commerce, to the shipbuilding industry, and to ship owning and navigation which will accompany the discharge of these urgent public duties, though they, too, should have weight.

The only serious question is whether at this time we can afford to improve our ocean mail service as it should be improved. All doubt on this subject is removed by the reports of the Post-Office Department. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, that Department estimates that the postage collected on the articles exchanged with foreign countries other than Canada and Mexico amounted to $6,579,043.48, or $3,637,226.81 more than the net cost of the service exclusive of the cost of transporting the articles between the United States exchange post-offices and the United States post-offices at which they were mailed or delivered. In other words, the Government of the United States, having assumed a monopoly of carrying the mails for the people, is making a profit of over $3,600,000 by rendering a cheap and inefficient service. That profit I believe should be devoted to strengthening our maritime power in those directions where it will best promote our prestige. The country is familiar with the facts of our maritime impotence in the harbors of the great and friendly republics of South America. Following the failure of the shipbuilding bill we lost our only American line of steamers to Austral-

asia, and that loss on the Pacific has become a serious embarrassment to the people of Hawaii, and has wholly cut off the Samoan Islands from regular communication with the Pacific Coast. Puget Sound, in the year, has lost over half (four out of seven) of its American steamers trading with the Orient.

We now pay under the act of 1891 $4 a statute mile outward to 20-knot American mail steamships, built according to naval plans, available as cruisers, and manned by Americans. Steamships of that speed are confined exclusively to transatlantic trade with New York. To steamships of 16 knots or over only $2 a mile can be paid, and it is steamships of this speed and type which are needed to meet the requirements of mail service to South America, Asia (including the Philippines), and Australia. I strongly recommend, therefore, a simple amendment to the ocean mail act of 1891 which shall authorize the Postmaster-General in his discretion to enter into contracts for the transportation of mails to the republics of South America, to Asia, the Philippines, and Australia at a rate not to exceed $4 a mile for steamships of 16 knots speed or upward, subject to the restrictions and obligations of the act of 1891. The profit of $3,600,000 which has been mentioned will fully cover the maximum annual expenditure involved in this recommendation, and it is believed will in time establish the lines so urgently needed. The proposition involves no new principle, but permits the efficient

discharge of public functions now inadequately performed or not performed at all.

Not only there is not now, but there never has been, any other nation in the world so wholly free from the evils of militarism as is ours. There never has been any other large nation, not even China, which for so long a period has had relatively to its numbers so small a regular army as has ours. Never at any time in our history has this Nation suffered from militarism or been in the remotest danger of suffering from militarism. Never at any time of our history has the Regular Army been of a size which caused the slightest appreciable tax upon the tax-paying citizens of the Nation. Almost always it has been too small in size and underpaid. Never in our entire history has the Nation suffered in the least particular because too much care has been given to the Army, too much prominence given it, too much money spent upon it, or because it has been too large. But again and again we have suffered because enough care has not been given to it, because it has been too small, because there has not been sufficient preparation in advance for possible war. Every foreign war in which we have engaged has cost us many times the amount which, if wisely expended during the preceding years of peace on the Regular Army, would have ensured the war ending in but a fraction of the time and but for a fraction of the cost that was actually the case. As a Nation we have always

been shortsighted in providing for the efficiency of the Army in time of peace. It is nobody's especial interest to make such provision and no one looks ahead to war at any period, no matter how remote, as being a serious possibility; while an improper economy, or rather niggardliness, can be practiced at the expense of the Army with the certainty that those practicing it will not be called to account therefor, but that the price will be paid by the unfortunate persons who happen to be in office when a war does actually come.

I think it is only lack of foresight that troubles us, not any hostility to the Army. There are, of course, foolish people who denounce any care of the Army or Navy as "militarism," but I do not think that these people are numerous. This country has to contend now, and has had to contend in the past, with many evils, and there is ample scope for all who would work for reform. But there is not one evil that now exists, or that ever has existed in this country, which is, or ever has been, owing in the smallest part to militarism. Declamation against militarism has no more serious place in an earnest and intelligent movement for righteousness in this country than declamation against the worship of Baal or Ashtaroth. It is declamation against a non-existent evil, one which never has existed in this country, and which has not the slightest chance of appearing here. We are glad to help in any movement for international peace, but this is because we sincerely believe that it is our duty to

help all such movements provided they are sane and rational, and not because there is any tendency toward militarism on our part which needs to be cured. The evils we have to fight are those in connection with industrialism, not militarism. Industry is always necessary, just as war is sometimes necessary. Each has its price, and industry in the United States now exacts, and has always exacted, a far heavier toll of death than all our wars put together. The statistics of the railroads of this country for the year ended June 30, 1906, the last contained in the annual statistical report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, show in that one year a total of 108,324 casualties to persons, of which 10,618 represent the number of persons killed. In that wonderful hive of human activity, Pittsburg, the deaths due to industrial accidents in 1906 were 919, all the results of accidents in mills, mines, or on railroads. For the entire country, therefore, it is safe to say that the deaths due to industrial accidents aggregate in the neighborhood of twenty thousand a year. Such a record makes the death rate in all our foreign wars utterly trivial by comparison. The number of deaths in battle in all the foreign wars put together, for the last century and a quarter, aggregate considerably less than one year's death record for our industries. A mere glance at these figures is sufficient to show the absurdity of the outcry against militarism.

But again and again in the past our little Regular Army has rendered service literally vital to the

country, and it may at any time have to do so in the future. Its standard of efficiency and instruction is higher now than ever in the past. But it is too small. There are not enough officers; and it is impossible to secure enough enlisted men. We should maintain in peace a fairly complete skeleton of a large army. A great and long-continued war would have to be fought by volunteers. But months would pass before any large body of efficient volunteers could be put in the field, and our Regular Army should be large enough to meet any immediate need. In particular it is essential that we should possess a number of extra officers trained in peace to perform efficiently the duties urgently required upon the breaking out of war.

The Medical Corps should be much larger than the needs of our Regular Army in war. Yet at present it is smaller than the needs of the service demand even in peace. The Spanish War occurred less than ten years ago. The chief loss we suffered in it was by disease among the regiments which never left the country. At the moment the Nation seemed deeply impressed by this fact; yet seemingly it has already been forgotten, for not the slightest effort has been made to prepare a medical corps of sufficient size to prevent the repetition of the same disaster on a much larger scale if we should ever be engaged in a serious conflict. The trouble in the Spanish War was not with the then existing officials of the War Department; it was with the representatives of the people as a

whole, who, for the preceding thirty years, had declined to make the necessary provision for the Army. Unless ample provision is now made by Congress to put the Medical Corps where it should be put, disaster in the next war is inevitable, and the responsibility will not lie with those then in charge of the War Department, but with those who now decline to make the necessary provision. A well-organized medical corps, thoroughly trained before the advent of war in all the important administrative duties of a military sanitary corps, is essential to the efficiency of any large army, and especially of a large volunteer army. Such knowledge of medicine and surgery as is possessed by the medical profession generally will not alone suffice to make an efficient military surgeon. He must have, in addition, knowledge of the administration and sanitation of large field hospitals and camps, in order to safeguard the health and lives of men intrusted in great numbers to his care. A bill has long been pending before the Congress for the reorganization of the Medical Corps; its passage is urgently needed.

But the Medical Department is not the only department for which increased provision should be made. The rate of pay for the officers should be greatly increased; there is no higher type of citizen than the American regular officer, and he should have a fair reward for his admirable work. There should be a relatively even greater increase in the pay for the enlisted men. In especial provision

should be made for establishing grades equivalent to those of warrant officers in the Navy which should be open to the enlisted men who serve sufficiently long and who do their work well. Inducements should be offered sufficient to encourage really good men to make the Army a life occupation. The prime need of our present Army is to secure and retain competent non-commissioned officers. This difficulty rests fundamentally on the question of pay. The non-commissioned officer does not correspond with an unskilled laborer; he corresponds to the best type of skilled workman or to the subordinate official in civil institutions. Wages have greatly increased in outside occupations in the last forty years, and the pay of the soldier, like the pay of the officers, should be proportionately increased. The first sergeant of a company, if a good man, must be one of such executive and administrative ability, and such knowledge of his trade, as to be worth far more than we at present pay him. The same is true of the regimental sergeant-major. These men should be men who had fully resolved to make the Army a life occupation, and they should be able to look forward to ample reward; while only men properly qualified should be given a chance to secure these final rewards. The increase over the present pay need not be great in the lower grades for the first one or two enlistments, but the increase should be marked for the non-commissioned officers of the upper grades who serve long enough to make it evident that they intend to stay permanently in

the Army, while additional pay should be given for high qualifications in target practice. The position of warrant officer should be established and there should be not only an increase of pay, but an increase of privileges and allowances and dignity, so as to make the grade open to non-commissioned officers capable of filling them desirably from every standpoint. The rate of desertion in our Army now in time of peace is alarming. The deserter should be treated by public opinion as a man guilty of the greatest crime; while, on the other hand, the man who serves steadily in the Army should be treated as what he is, that is, as pre-eminently one of the best citizens of this Republic. After twelve years' service in the Army my own belief is that the man should be given a preference according to his ability for certain types of office over all civilian applicants without examination. This should also apply, of course, to the men who have served twelve years in the Navy. A special corps should be provided to do the manual labor now necessarily demanded of the privates themselves.

Among the officers there should be severe examinations to weed out the unfit up to the grade of major. From that position on appointments should be solely by selection and it should be understood that a man of merely average capacity could never get beyond the position of major, while every man who serves in any grade a certain length of time prior to promotion to the next grade without getting the promotion to the next grade should be

forthwith retired. The practice marches and field manœuvres of the last two or three years have been invaluable to the Army. They should be continued and extended. A rigid and not a perfunctory examination of physical capacity has been provided for the higher grade officers. This will work well. Unless an officer has a good physique, unless he can stand hardship, ride well, and walk fairly, he is not fit for any position, even after he has become a colonel. Before he has become a colonel the need for physical fitness in the officer is almost as great as in the enlisted man. I hope speedily to see introduced into the Army a far more rigid and thorough-going test of horsemanship for all field officers than at present. There should be a Chief of Cavalry just as there is a Chief of Artillery.

Perhaps the most important of all legislation needed for the benefit of the Army is a law to equalize and increase the pay of officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Revenue-Cutter Service. Such a bill has been prepared, which it is hoped will meet with your favorable consideration. The next most essential measure is to authorize a number of extra officers as mentioned above. To make the Army more attractive to enlisted men, it is absolutely essential to create a service corps, such as exists in nearly every modern army in the world, to do the skilled and unskilled labor, inseparably connected with military administration, which is now exacted, without just compensation, of enlisted men who voluntarily en-

tered the Army to do service of an altogether different kind. There are a number of other laws necessary to so organize the Army as to promote its efficiency and facilitate its rapid expansion in time of war; but the above are the most important.

It was hoped the Hague Conference might deal with the question of the limitation of armaments. But even before it had assembled informal inquiries had developed that as regards naval armaments, the only ones in which this country had any interest, it was hopeless to try to devise any plan for which there was the slightest possibility of securing the assent of the nations gathered at The Hague. No plan was even proposed which would have had the assent of more than one first-class Power outside of the United States. The only plan that seemed at all feasible, that of limiting the size of battleships, met with no favor at all. It is evident, therefore, that it is folly for this Nation to base any hope of securing peace on any international agreement as to the limitation of armaments. Such being the fact, it would be most unwise for us to stop the upbuilding of our Navy. To build one battleship of the best and most advanced type a year would barely keep our fleet up to its present force. This is not enough. In my judgment, we should this year provide for four battleships. But it is idle to build warships unless in addition to providing the men, and the means for thorough training, we provide the auxiliaries for them, unless we provide

docks, the coaling stations, the colliers and supply ships that they need. We are extremely deficient in coaling stations and docks on the Pacific, and this deficiency should not longer be permitted to exist. Plenty of torpedo boats and destroyers should be built. Both on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, fortifications of the best type should be provided for all our greatest harbors.

We need always to remember that in time of war the Navy is not to be used to defend harbors and seacoast cities; we should perfect our system of coast fortifications. The only efficient use for the Navy is for offence. The only way in which it can efficiently protect our own coast against the possible action of a foreign navy is by destroying that foreign navy. For defence against a hostile fleet which actually attacks them, the coast cities must depend upon their forts, mines, torpedoes, submarines, and torpedo boats and destroyers. All of these together are efficient for defensive purposes, but they in no way supply the place of a thoroughly efficient navy capable of acting on the offensive; for parrying never yet won a fight. It can only be won by hard hitting, and an aggressive sea-going navy alone can do this hard hitting of the offensive type. But the forts and the like are necessary so that the warships may be footloose. In time of war there is sure to be demand, under pressure of fright, for the ships to be scattered so as to defend all kinds of ports. Under penalty of terrible disaster, this demand must be refused. The ships must be kept

together, and their objective made the enemy's fleet. If fortifications are sufficiently strong, no modern navy will venture to attack them, so long as the foe has in existence a hostile navy of anything like the same size or efficiency. But unless there exists such a navy, then the fortifications are powerless by themselves to secure the victory. For of course the mere deficiency means that any resolute enemy can at his leisure combine all his forces upon one point with the certainty that he can take it.

Until our battle fleet is much larger than at present it should never be split into detachments so far apart that they could not in event of emergency be speedily united. Our coast line is on the Pacific just as much as on the Atlantic. The interests of California, Oregon, and Washington are as emphatically the interests of the whole Union as those of Maine and New York, of Louisiana and Texas. The battle fleet should now and then be moved to the Pacific, just as at other times it should be kept in the Atlantic. When the Isthmian Canal is built the transit of the battle fleet from one ocean to the other will be comparatively easy. Until it is built I earnestly hope that the battle fleet will be thus shifted between the two oceans every year or two. The marksmanship on all our ships has improved phenomenally during the last five years. Until within the last two or three years it was not possible to train a battle fleet in squadron manœuvres under service conditions, and it is only during these last two or three years that the training under these

conditions has become really effective. Another and most necessary stride in advance is now being taken. The battle fleet is about starting by the Straits of Magellan to visit the Pacific Coast. Sixteen battleships are going under the command of Rear-Admiral Evans, while eight armored cruisers and two other battleships will meet him at San Francisco, whither certain torpedo destroyers are also going. No fleet of such size has ever made such a voyage, and it will be of very great educational use to all engaged in it. The only way by which to teach officers and men how to handle the warships so as to meet every possible strain and emergency in time of war is to have them practice under similar conditions in time of peace. Moreover, the only way to find out our actual needs is to perform in time of peace whatever manœuvres might be necessary in time of war. After war is declared it is too late to find out the needs; that means to invite disaster. This trip to the Pacific will show what some of our needs are and will enable us to provide for them. The proper place for an officer to learn his duty is at sea, and the only way in which a navy can ever be made efficient is by practice at sea, under all the conditions which would have to be met if war existed.

I bespeak the most liberal treatment for the officers and enlisted men of the Navy. It is true of them, as likewise of the officers and enlisted men of the Army, that they form a body whose interests should be close to the heart of every good Ameri-

can. In return the most rigid performance of duty should be exacted from them. The reward should be ample when they do their best; and nothing less than their best should be tolerated. It is idle to hope for the best results when the men in the senior grades come to those grades late in life and serve too short a time in them. Up to the rank of lieutenant-commander promotion in the Navy should be as now, by seniority, subject, however, to such rigid tests as would eliminate the unfit. After the grade of lieutenant-commander, that is, when we come to the grade of command rank, the unfit should be eliminated in such manner that only the conspicuously fit would remain, and sea service should be a principal test of fitness. Those who are passed by should, after a certain length of service in their respective grades, be retired. Of a given number of men it may well be that almost all would make good lieutenants and most of them good lieutenant-commanders, while only a minority will be fit to be captains, and but three or four to be admirals. Those who object to promotion otherwise than by mere seniority should reflect upon the elementary fact that no business in private life could be successfully managed if those who enter at the lowest rungs of the ladder should each in turn, if he lived, become the head of the firm, its active director, and retire after he had held the position a few months. On its face such a scheme is an absurdity. Chances for improper favoritism can be minimized by a properly formed board; such as

the board of last June, which did such conscientious and excellent work in elimination.

If all that ought to be done can not now be done, at least let a beginning be made. In my last three annual Messages, and in a special Message to the last Congress, the necessity for legislation that will cause officers of the line of the Navy to reach the grades of captain and rear-admiral at less advanced ages and which will cause them to have more sea training and experience in the highly responsible duties of those grades, so that they may become thoroughly skillful in handling warships, divisions, squadrons, and fleets in action, has been fully explained and urgently recommended. Upon this subject the Secretary of the Navy has submitted detailed and definite recommendations which have received my approval, and which, if enacted into law, will accomplish what is immediately necessary, and will, as compared with existing law, make a saving of more than five millions of dollars during the next seven years. The navy personnel act of 1899 has accomplished all that was expected of it in providing satisfactory periods of service in the several subordinate grades, from the grade of ensign to the grade of lieutenant-commander, but the law is inadequate in the upper grades and will continue to be inadequate on account of the expansion of the personnel since its enactment. Your attention is invited to the following quotations from the report of the personnel board of 1906, of which the Assistant Secretary of the Navy was president:

"Congress has authorized a considerable increase in the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy, and these midshipmen upon graduation are promoted to ensign and lieutenant (junior grade). But no provision has been made for a corresponding increase in the upper grades, the result being that the lower grades will become so congested that a midshipman now in one of the lowest classes at Annapolis may possibly not be promoted to lieutenant until he is between 45 and 50 years of age. So it will continue under the present law, congesting at the top and congesting at the bottom. The country fails to get from the officers of the service the best that is in them by not providing opportunity for their normal development and training. The board believes that this works a serious detriment to the efficiency of the Navy and is a real menace to the public safety."

As stated in my special Message to the last Congress: "I am firmly of the opinion that unless the present conditions of the higher commissioned personnel is rectified by judicious legislation the future of our Navy will be gravely compromised." It is also urgently necessary to increase the efficiency of the Medical Corps of the Navy. Special legislation to this end has already been proposed; and I trust it may be enacted without delay.

It must be remembered that everything done in the Navy to fit it to do well in time of war must be done in time of peace. Modern wars are short; they do not last the length of time requisite to build

a battleship; and it takes longer to train the officers and men to do well on a battleship than it takes to build it. Nothing effective can be done for the Navy once war has begun, and the result of the war, if the combatants are otherwise equally matched, will depend upon which power has prepared best in time of peace. The United States Navy is the best guaranty the Nation has that its honor and interest will not be neglected; and in addition it offers by far the best insurance for peace that can by human ingenuity be devised.

I call attention to the report of the official Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy at Annapolis which has been forwarded to the Congress. The report contains this paragraph:

"Such revision should be made of the courses of study and methods of conducting and marking examinations as will develop and bring out the average all-round ability of the midshipman rather than to give him prominence in any one particular study. The fact should be kept in mind that the Naval Academy is not a university but a school, the primary object of which is to educate boys to be efficient naval officers. Changes in curriculum, therefore, should be in the direction of making the course of instruction less theoretical and more practical. No portion of any future class should be graduated in advance of the full four years' course, and under no circumstances should the standard of instruction be lowered. The Academy in almost all of its departments is now magnificently

equipped, and it would be very unwise to make the course of instruction less exacting than it is to-day."

Acting upon this suggestion I designated three sea-going officers, Captain Richard Wainwright, Commander Robert S. Griffin, and Lieutenant-Commander Albert L. Key, all graduates of the Academy, to investigate conditions and to recommend to me the best method of carrying into effect this general recommendation. These officers performed the duty promptly and intelligently, and, under the personal direction of Captain Charles J. Badger, Superintendent of the Academy, such of the proposed changes as were deemed to be at present advisable were put into effect at the beginning of the academic year, October 1, last. The results, I am confident, will be most beneficial to the Academy, to the midshipmen, and to the Navy.

In foreign affairs this country's steady policy is to behave toward other nations as a strong and self-respecting man should behave toward the other men with whom he is brought into contact. In other words, our aim is disinterestedly to help other nations where such help can be wisely given without the appearance of meddling with what does not concern us; to be careful to act as a good neighbor; and at the same time, in good-natured fashion, to make it evident that we do not intend to be imposed upon.

The Second International Peace Conference was convened at The Hague on the 15th of June last and remained in session until the 18th of October. For the first time the representatives of practically all the civilized countries of the world united in a temperate and kindly discussion of the methods by which the causes of war might be narrowed and its injurious effects reduced.

Although the agreements reached in the Conference did not in any direction go to the length hoped for by the more sanguine, yet in many directions important steps were taken, and upon every subject on the program there was such full and considerate discussion as to justify the belief that substantial progress has been made toward further agreements in the future. Thirteen conventions were agreed upon embodying the definite conclusions which had been reached, and resolutions were adopted marking the progress made in matters upon which agreement was not yet sufficiently complete to make conventions practicable.

The delegates of the United States were instructed to favor an agreement for obligatory arbitration, the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration to proceed judicially in the hearing and decision of international causes, the prohibition of force for the collection of contract debts alleged to be due from governments to citizens of other countries until after arbitration as to the justice and amount of the debt and the time and manner of payment, the immunity of private property at

sea, the better definition of the rights of neutrals, and, in case any measure to that end should be introduced, the limitation of armaments.

In the field of peaceful disposal of international differences several important advances were made. First, as to obligatory arbitration. Although the Conference failed to secure a unanimous agreement upon the details of a convention for obligatory arbitration, it did resolve as follows:

"It is unanimous: (1) In accepting the principle for obligatory arbitration; (2) In declaring that certain differences, and notably those relating to the interpretation and application of international conventional stipulations, are susceptible of being submitted to obligatory arbitration without any restriction."

In view of the fact that as a result of the discussion the vote upon the definite treaty of obligatory arbitration which was proposed, stood 32 in favor to 9 against the adoption of the treaty, there can be little doubt that the great majority of the countries of the world have reached a point where they are now ready to apply practically the principles thus unanimously agreed upon by the Conference.

The second advance, and a very great one, is the agreement which relates to the use of force for the collection of contract debts. Your attention is invited to the paragraphs upon this subject in my message of December, 1906, and to the resolution of the Third American Conference at Rio in the

summer of 1906. The convention upon this subject adopted by the Conference substantially as proposed by the American delegates is as follows:

"In order to avoid between nations armed conflicts of a purely pecuniary origin arising from contractual debts claimed of the government of one country by the government of another country to be due to its nationals the signatory powers agree not to have recourse to armed force for the collection of such contractual debts.

"However, this stipulation shall not be applicable when the debtor state refuses or leaves unanswered an offer to arbitrate, or, in case of acceptance, makes it impossible to formulate the terms of submission, or, after arbitration, fails to comply with the award rendered.

"It is further agreed that arbitration here contemplated shall be in conformity, as to procedure, with Chapter III of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes adopted at The Hague, and that it shall determine, in so far as there shall be no agreement between the parties, the justice and the amount of the debt, the time and mode of payment thereof."

Such a provision would have prevented much injustice and extortion in the past, and I can not doubt that its effect in the future will be most salutary.

A third advance has been made in amending and perfecting the convention of 1899 for the voluntary settlement of international disputes, and

particularly the extension of those parts of that convention which relate to commissions of inquiry. The existence of those provisions enabled the Governments of Great Britain and Russia to avoid war, notwithstanding great public excitement, at the time of the Dogger Bank incident, and the new convention agreed upon by the Conference gives practical effect to the experience gained in that inquiry.

Substantial progress was also made toward the creation of a permanent judicial tribunal for the determination of international causes. There was very full discussion of the proposal for such a court and a general agreement was finally reached in favor of its creation. The Conference recommended to the signatory powers the adoption of a draft upon which it agreed for the organization of the court, leaving to be determined only the method by which the judges should be selected. This remaining unsettled question is plainly one which time and good temper will solve.

A further agreement of the first importance was that for the creation of an international prize court. The constitution, organization, and procedure of such a tribunal were provided for in detail. Any one who recalls the injustices under which this country suffered as a neutral power during the early part of the last century can not fail to see in this provision for an international prize court the great advance which the world is making toward the substitution of the rule of reason and justice in

place of simple force. Not only will the international prize court be the means of protecting the interests of neutrals, but it is in itself a step toward the creation of the more general court for the hearing of international controversies to which reference has just been made. The organization and action of such a prize court can not fail to accustom the different countries to the submission of international questions to the decision of an international tribunal, and we may confidently expect the results of such submission to bring about a general agreement upon the enlargement of the practice.

Numerous provisions were adopted for reducing the evil effects of war and for defining the rights and duties of neutrals.

The Conference also provided for the holding of a third Conference within a period similar to that which elapsed between the First and Second Conferences.

The delegates of the United States worthily represented the spirit of the American people and maintained with fidelity and ability the policy of our Government upon all the great questions discussed in the Conference.

The report of the delegation, together with authenticated copies of the conventions signed, when received, will be laid before the Senate for its consideration.

When we remember how difficult it is for one of our own legislative bodies, composed of citizens of

the same country, speaking the same language, living under the same laws, and having the same customs, to reach an agreement, or even to secure a majority upon any difficult and important subject which is proposed for legislation, it becomes plain that the representatives of forty-five different countries, speaking many different languages, accustomed to different methods of procedure, with widely diverse interests, who discussed so many different subjects and reached agreements upon so many, are entitled to grateful appreciation for the wisdom, patience, and moderation with which they have discharged their duty. The example of this temperate discussion, and the agreements and the efforts to agree, among representatives of all the nations of the earth, acting with universal recognition of the supreme obligation to promote peace, can not fail to be a powerful influence for good in future international relations.

A year ago in consequence of a revolutionary movement in Cuba which threatened the immediate return to chaos of the island, the United States intervened, sending down an army and establishing a provisional government under Governor Magoon. Absolute quiet and prosperity have returned to the island because of this action. We are now taking steps to provide for elections in the islands and our expectation is within the coming year to be able to turn the island over again to a government chosen by the people thereof. Cuba is at our doors. It

is not possible that this Nation should permit Cuba again to sink into the condition from which we rescued it. All that we ask of the Cuban people is that they be prosperous, that they govern themselves so as to bring content, order and progress to their island, the Queen of the Antilles; and our only interference has been and will be to help them achieve these results.

An invitation has been extended by Japan to the Government and people of the United States to participate in a great national exposition to be held at Tokyo from April 1 to October 31, 1912, and in which the principal countries of the world are to be invited to take part. This is an occasion of special interest to all the nations of the world, and peculiarly to us; for it is the first instance in which such a great national exposition has been held by a great power dwelling on the Pacific; and all the nations of Europe and America will, I trust, join in helping to success this first great exposition ever held by a great nation of Asia. The geographical relations of Japan and the United States as the possessors of such large portions of the coasts of the Pacific, the intimate trade relations already existing between the two countries, the warm friendship which has been maintained between them without break since the opening of Japan to intercourse with the western nations, and her increasing wealth and production, which we regard with hearty goodwill and wish to make the occasion of mutually bene-

ficial commerce, all unite in making it eminently desirable that this invitation should be accepted. I heartily recommend such legislation as will provide in generous fashion for the representation of this Government and its people in the proposed exposition. Action should be taken now. We are apt to underestimate the time necessary for preparation in such cases. The invitation to the French Exposition of 1900 was brought to the attention of the Congress by President Cleveland in December, 1895; and so many are the delays necessary to such proceedings that the period of four years and a half which then intervened before the exposition proved none too long for the proper preparation of the exhibits.

The adoption of a new tariff by Germany, accompanied by conventions for reciprocal tariff concessions between that country and most of the other countries of Continental Europe, led the German Government to give the notice necessary to terminate the reciprocal commercial agreement with this country proclaimed July 13, 1900. The notice was to take effect on the 1st of March, 1906, and in default of some other arrangements this would have left the exports from the United States to Germany subject to the general German tariff duties, from 25 to 50 per cent higher than the conventional duties imposed upon the goods of most of our competitors for German trade.

Under a special agreement made between the

two Governments in February, 1906, the German Government postponed the operation of their notice until the 30th of June, 1907. In the mean time, deeming it to be my duty to make every possible effort to prevent a tariff war between the United States and Germany arising from misunderstanding by either country of the conditions existing in the other, and acting upon the invitation of the German Government, I sent to Berlin a commission composed of competent experts in the operation and administration of the customs tariff, from the Departments of the Treasury and Commerce and Labor. This commission was engaged for several months in conference with a similar commission appointed by the German Government, under instructions, so far as practicable, to reach a common understanding as to all the facts regarding the tariffs of the United States and Germany material and relevant to the trade relations between the two countries. The commission reported, and upon the basis of the report, a further temporary commercial agreement was entered into by the two countries, pursuant to which, in the exercise of the authority conferred upon the President by the third section of the tariff act of July 24, 1897, I extended the reduced tariff rates provided for in that section to champagne and all other sparkling wines, and pursuant to which the German conventional or minimum tariff rates were extended to about 96½ per cent of all the exports from the United States to Germany. This agreement is to re-

main in force until the 30th of June, 1908, and until six months after notice by either party to terminate it.

The agreement and the report of the commission on which it is based will be laid before the Congress for its information.

This careful examination into the tariff relations between the United States and Germany involved an inquiry into certain of our methods of administration which had been the cause of much complaint on the part of German exporters. In this inquiry I became satisfied that certain vicious and unjustifiable practices had grown up in our customs administration, notably the practice of determining values of imports upon detective reports never disclosed to the persons whose interests were affected. The use of detectives, though often necessary, tends toward abuse, and should be carefully guarded. Under our practice as I found it to exist in this case, the abuse had become gross and discreditable. Under it, instead of seeking information as to the market value of merchandise from the well-known and respected members of the commercial community in the country of its production, secret statements were obtained from informers and discharged employees and business rivals, and upon this kind of secret evidence the values of imported goods were frequently raised and heavy penalties were frequently imposed upon importers who were never permitted to know what the evidence was and who never had an opportunity to meet it. It is quite

probable that this system tended toward an increase of the duties collected upon imported goods, but I conceive it to be a violation of law to exact more duties than the law provides, just as it is a violation to admit goods upon the payment of less than the legal rate of duty. This practice was repugnant to the spirit of American law and to American sense of justice. In the judgment of the most competent experts of the Treasury Department and the Department of Commerce and Labor it was wholly unnecessary for the due collection of the customs revenues, and the attempt to defend it merely illustrates the demoralization which naturally follows from a long-continued course of reliance upon such methods. I accordingly caused the regulations governing this branch of the customs service to be modified so that values are determined upon a hearing in which all the parties interested have an opportunity to be heard and to know the evidence against them. Moreover, our Treasury agents are accredited to the government of the country in which they seek information, and in Germany receive the assistance of the quasi-official chambers of commerce in determining the actual market value of goods, in accordance with what I am advised to be the true construction of the law.

These changes of regulations were adapted to the removal of such manifest abuses that I have not felt that they ought to be confined to our relations with Germany; and I have extended their operation

to all other countries which have expressed a desire to enter into similar administrative relations.

I ask for authority to reform the agreement with China under which the indemnity of 1900 was fixed, by remitting and cancelling the obligation of China for the payment of all that part of the stipulated indemnity which is in excess of the sum of $11,655,492.69, and interest at four per cent. After the rescue of the foreign legations in Peking during the Boxer troubles in 1900 the powers required from China the payment of equitable indemnities to the several nations, and the final protocol under which the troops were withdrawn, signed at Peking, September 7, 1901, fixed the amount of this indemnity allotted to the United States at over $20,000,000, and China paid, up to and including the 1st day of June, last, a little over $6,000,000. It was the first intention of this Government at the proper time when all claims had been presented and all expenses ascertained as fully as possible, to revise the estimates and account, and as a proof of sincere friendship for China voluntarily to release that country from its legal liability for all payments in excess of the sum which should prove to be necessary for actual indemnity to the United States and its citizens.

This Nation should help in every practicable way in the education of the Chinese people, so that the vast and populous Empire of China may gradually

adapt itself to modern conditions. One way of doing this is by promoting the coming of Chinese students to this country and making it attractive to them to take courses at our universities and higher educational institutions. Our educators should, so far as possible, take concerted action toward this end.

On the courteous invitation of the President of Mexico, the Secretary of State visited that country in September and October and was received everywhere with the greatest kindness and hospitality.

He carried from the Government of the United States to our southern neighbor a message of respect and good-will and of desire for better acquaintance and increasing friendship. The response from the Government and the people of Mexico was hearty and sincere. No pains were spared to manifest the most friendly attitude and feeling toward the United States.

In view of the close neighborhood of the two countries the relations which exist between Mexico and the United States are just cause for gratification. We have a common boundary of over 1,500 miles from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific. Much of it is marked only by the shifting waters of the Rio Grande. Many thousands of Mexicans are residing upon our side of the line, and it is estimated that over 40,000 Americans are resident in Mexican territory and that American invest-

ments in Mexico amount to over $700,000,000. The extraordinary industrial and commercial prosperity of Mexico has been greatly promoted by American enterprise, and Americans are sharing largely in its results. The foreign trade of the republic already exceeds $240,000,000 per annum, and of this two-thirds, both of exports and imports, are exchanged with the United States. Under these circumstances numerous questions necessarily arise between the two countries. These questions are always approached and disposed of in a spirit of mutual courtesy and fair dealing. Americans carrying on business in Mexico testify uniformly to the kindness and consideration with which they are treated and their sense of the security of their property and enterprises under the wise administration of the great statesman who has so long held the office of Chief Magistrate of that republic.

The two Governments have been uniting their efforts for a considerable time past to aid Central America in attaining the degree of peace and order which have made possible the prosperity of the northern parts of the Continent. After the peace between Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador, celebrated under the circumstances described in my last Message, a new war broke out between the republics of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador. The effort to compose this new difficulty has resulted in the acceptance of the joint suggestion of the Presidents of Mexico and of the United States for a

general peace conference between all the countries of Central America. On the 17th day of September last a protocol was signed between the representatives of the five Central American countries accredited to this Government, agreeing upon a conference to be held in the City of Washington "in order to devise the means of preserving the good relations among said republics and bringing about permanent peace in those countries." The protocol includes the expression of a wish that the Presidents of the United States and Mexico should appoint "representatives to lend their good and impartial offices in a purely friendly way toward the realization of the objects of the conference." The conference is now in session and will have our best wishes and, where it is practicable, our friendly assistance.

One of the results of the Pan-American Conference at Rio Janeiro in the summer of 1906 has been a great increase in the activity and usefulness of the International Bureau of American Republics. That institution, which includes all the American republics in its membership and brings all their representatives together, is doing a really valuable work in informing the people of the United States about the other republics and in making the United States known to them. Its action is now limited by appropriations determined when it was doing a work on a much smaller scale and rendering much less valuable service. I recommend that the con-

tribution of this Government to the expenses of the Bureau be made commensurate with its increased work.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS JANUARY 31, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The recent decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the Employers' Liability Act, the experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Department of Justice in enforcing the Interstate Commerce and Antitrust Laws, and the gravely significant attitude toward the law and its administration recently adopted by certain heads of great corporations, render it desirable that there should be additional legislation as regards certain of the relations between labor and capital, and between the great corporations and the public.

The Supreme Court has decided the Employers' Liability Law to be unconstitutional because its terms apply to employees engaged wholly in intrastate commerce as well as to employees engaged in interstate commerce. By a substantial majority the court holds that the Congress has power to deal with the question in so far as interstate commerce is concerned.

As regards the Employers' Liability Law, I advocate its immediate reenactment, limiting its scope so that it shall apply only to the class of cases as

to which the court says it can constitutionally apply, but strengthening its provisions within this scope. Interstate employment being thus covered by an adequate national law, the field of intrastate employment will be left to the action of the several States. With this clear definition of responsibility the States will undoubtedly give to the performance of their duty within their field the consideration the importance of the subject demands.

I also very urgently advise that a comprehensive act be passed providing for compensation by the Government to all employees injured in the Government service. Under the present law an injured workman in the employment of the Government has no remedy, and the entire burden of the accident falls on the helpless man, his wife, and his young children. This is an outrage. It is a matter of humiliation to the Nation that there should not be on our statute books provision to meet and partially to atone for cruel misfortune when it comes upon a man through no fault of his own while faithfully serving the public. In no other prominent industrial country in the world could such gross injustice occur; for almost all civilized nations have enacted legislation embodying the complete recognition of the principle which places the entire trade risk for industrial accidents (excluding, of course, accidents due to wilful misconduct by the employee) on the industry as represented by the employer, which in this case is the Government. In all these coun-

tries the principle applies to the Government just as much as to the private employer. Under no circumstances should the injured employee or his surviving dependents be required to bring suit against the Government, nor should there be the requirement that in order to ensure recovery negligence in some form on the part of the Government should be shown. Our proposition is not to confer a right of action upon the Government employee, but to secure him suitable provision against injuries received in the course of his employment. The burden of the trade risk should be placed upon the Government. Exactly as the workingman is entitled to his wages, so he should be entitled to indemnity for the injuries sustained in the natural course of his labor. The rates of compensation and the regulations for its payment should be specified in the law, and the machinery for determining the amount to be paid should in each case be provided in such manner that the employee is properly represented without expense to him. In other words, the compensation should be paid automatically, while the application of the law in the first instance should be vested in the Department of Commerce and Labor. The law should apply to all laborers, mechanics, and other civilian employees of the Government of the United States, including those in the service of the Panama Canal Commission and of the insular governments.

The same broad principle which should apply to the Government should ultimately be made applica-

ble to all private employers. Where the Nation has the power it should enact laws to this effect. Where the States alone have the power they should enact the laws. It is to be observed that an employers' liability law does not really mean mulcting employers in damages. It merely throws upon the employer the burden of accident insurance against injuries which are sure to occur. It requires him either to bear or to distribute through insurance the loss which can readily be borne when distributed, but which, if undistributed, bears with frightful hardship upon the unfortunate victim of accident. In theory, if wages were always freely and fairly adjusted, they would always include an allowance as against the risk of injury, just as certainly as the rate of interest for money includes an allowance for insurance against the risk of loss. In theory, if employees were all experienced business men, they would employ that part of their wages which is received because of the risk of injury to secure accident insurance. But as a matter of fact, it is not practical to expect that this will be done by the great body of employees. An employers' liability law makes it certain that it will be done, in effect, by the employer, and it will ultimately impose no real additional burden upon him.

There is a special bill to which I call your attention. Secretary Taft has urgently recommended the immediate passage of a law providing for compensation to employees of the Government injured

in the work of the Isthmian canal, and that $100,000 be appropriated for this purpose each year. I earnestly hope this will be done; and that a special bill be passed covering the case of Yardmaster Banton, who was injured nearly two years ago while doing his duty. He is now helpless to support his wife and his three little boys.

I again call your attention to the need of some action in connection with the abuse of injunctions in labor cases. As regards the rights and wrongs of labor and capital, from blacklisting to boycotting, the whole subject is covered in admirable fashion by the report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, which report should serve as a chart for the guidance of both legislative and executive officers. As regards injunctions, I can do little but repeat what I have said in my last message to the Congress. Even though it were possible, I should consider it most unwise to abolish the use of the process of injunction. It is necessary in order that the courts may maintain their own dignity, and in order that they may in effective manner check disorder and violence. The judge who uses it cautiously and conservatively, but who, when the need arises, uses it fearlessly, confers the greatest service upon our people, and his preeminent usefulness as a public servant should be heartily recognized. But there is no question in my mind that it has sometimes been used heedlessly and unjustly, and that some of the injunctions issued inflict grave and

occasionally irreparable wrong upon those enjoined.

It is all wrong to use the injunction to prevent the entirely proper and legitimate actions of labor organizations in their struggle for industrial betterment, or under the guise of protecting property rights unwarrantably to invade the fundamental rights of the individual. It is futile to concede, as we all do, the right and the necessity of organized effort on the part of wage-earners, and yet by injunctive process to forbid peaceable action to accomplish the lawful objects for which they are organized and upon which their success depends. The fact that the punishment for the violation of an injunction must, to make the order effective, necessarily be summary and without the intervention of a jury makes its issuance in doubtful cases a dangerous practice, and in itself furnishes a reason why the process should be surrounded with safeguards to protect individuals against being enjoined from exercising their proper rights. Reasonable notice should be given the adverse party.

This matter is daily becoming of graver importance, and I can not too urgently recommend that the Congress give careful consideration to the subject. If some way of remedying the abuses is not found, the feeling of indignation against them among large numbers of our citizens will tend to grow so extreme as to produce a revolt against the whole use of the process of injunction. The ultra-conservatives who object to cutting out the abuses

will do well to remember that, if the popular feeling does become strong, many of those upon whom they rely to defend them will be the first to turn against them. Men of property can not afford to trust to anything save the spirit of justice and fair play; for those very public men who, while it is to their interest, defend all the abuses committed by capital and pose as the champions of conservatism, will, the moment they think their interest changes, take the lead in just such a matter as this and pander to what they esteem popular feeling by endeavoring, for instance, effectively to destroy the power of the courts in matters of injunction; and will even seek to render nugatory the power to punish for contempt, upon which power the very existence of the orderly administration of justice depends.

It is my purpose as soon as may be to submit some further recommendations in reference to our laws regulating labor conditions within the sphere of Federal authority. A very recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States rendered since this message was written, in the case of Adair *v.* United States, seemingly of far-reaching import and of very serious probable consequences, has modified the previously entertained views on the powers of the Congress in the premises to such a degree as to make necessary careful consideration of the opinions therein filed before it is possible definitely to decide in what way to call the matter to your attention.

Not only should there be action on certain laws

affecting wage-earners; there should also be such action on laws better to secure control over the great business concerns engaged in interstate commerce, and especially over the great common carriers. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be empowered to pass upon any rate or practice on its own initiative. Moreover, it should be provided that whenever the Commission has reason to believe that a proposed advance in a rate ought not to be made without investigation, it should have authority to issue an order prohibiting the advance pending examination by the Commission.

I would not be understood as expressing an opinion that any or even a majority of these advances are improper. Many of the rates in this country have been abnormally low. The operating expenses of our railroads, notably the wages paid railroad employees, have greatly increased. These and other causes may in any given case justify an advance in rates, and if so the advance should be permitted and approved. But there may be, and doubtless are, cases where this is not true; and our law should be so framed that the Government, as the representative of the whole people, can protect the individual against unlawful exaction for the use of these public highways. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be provided with the means to make a physical valuation of any road as to which it deems this valuation necessary. In some form the Federal Government should exercise supervision over the financial operations of our interstate

railroads. In no other way can justice be done between the private owners of those properties and the public which pay their charges. When once an inflated capitalization has gone upon the market and has become fixed in value, its existence must be recognized. As a practical matter it is then often absolutely necessary to take account of the thousands of innocent stockholders who have purchased their stock in good faith. The usual result of such inflation is therefore to impose upon the public an unnecessary but everlasting tax, while the innocent purchasers of the stock are also harmed and only a few speculators are benefited. Such wrongs when once accomplished can with difficulty be undone; but they can be prevented with safety and with justice. When combinations of interstate railways must obtain Government sanction; when it is no longer possible for an interstate railway to issue stock or bonds, save in the manner approved by the Federal Government; when that Government makes sure that the proceeds of every stock and bond issue go into the improvement of the property and not the enrichment of some individual or syndicate; when, whenever it becomes material for guidance in the regulative action of the Government, the physical value of one of these properties is determined and made known—there will be eliminated from railroad securities that element of uncertainty which lends to them their speculative quality and which has contributed much to the financial stress of the recent past.

I think that the Federal Government must also assume a certain measure of control over the physical operation of railways in the handling of interstate traffic. The Commission now has authority to establish through routes and joint rates. In order to make this provision effective, and in order to promote in times of necessity the proper movement of traffic, I think it must also have authority to determine the conditions upon which cars shall be interchanged between different interstate railways. It is also probable that the Commission should have authority, in particular instances, to determine the schedule upon which perishable commodities shall be moved.

In this connection I desire to repeat my recommendation that railways be permitted to form traffic associations for the purpose of conferring about and agreeing upon rates, regulations, and practices affecting interstate business in which the members of the association are mutually interested. This does not mean that they should be given the right to pool their earnings or their traffic. The law requires that rates shall be so adjusted as not to discriminate between individuals, localities, or different species of traffic. Ordinarily, rates by all competing lines must be the same. As applied to practical conditions, the railway operations of this country can not be conducted according to law without what is equivalent to conference and agreement. The articles under which such associations operate should be approved by the Commission; all their

operations should be open to public inspection; and the rates, regulations, and practices upon which they agree should be subject to disapproval by the Commission.

I urge this last provision with the same earnestness that I do the others. This country provides its railway facilities by private capital. Those facilities will not be adequate unless the capital employed is assured of just treatment and an adequate return. In fixing the charges of our railroads, I believe that, considering the interests of the public alone, it is better to allow too liberal rather than too scanty earnings, for, otherwise, there is grave danger that our railway development may not keep pace with the demand for transportation. But the fundamental idea that these railways are public highways must be recognized, and they must be open to the whole public upon equal terms and upon reasonable terms.

In reference to the Sherman Antitrust Law, I repeat the recommendations made in my message at the opening of the present Congress, as well as in my message to the previous Congress. The attempt in this law to provide in sweeping terms against all combinations of whatever character, if technically in restraint of trade as such restraint has been defined by the courts, must necessarily be either futile or mischievous, and sometimes both. The present law makes some combinations illegal, although they may be useful to the country. On the other hand, as to some huge combinations which

are both noxious and illegal, even if the action undertaken against them under the law by the Government is successful, the result may be to work but a minimum benefit to the public. Even though the combination be broken up and a small measure of reform thereby produced, the real good aimed at can not be obtained, for such real good can come only by a thorough and continuing supervision over the acts of the combination in all its parts, so as to prevent stock watering, improper forms of competition, and, in short, wrong-doing generally. The law should correct that portion of the Sherman act which prohibits all combinations of the character above described, whether they be reasonable or unreasonable; but this should be done only as part of a general scheme to provide for this effective and thoroughgoing supervision by the National Government of all the operations of the big interstate business concerns. Judge Hough of New York, in his recent decision in the Harriman case, states that the Congress possesses the power to limit the interstate operations of corporations not complying with Federal safeguards against the recurrence of obnoxious practices, and to license those which afford the public adequate security against methods calculated to diminish solvency, and therefore efficiency and economy in interstate transportation. The judge adds that in these matters "the power of Congress is ample, though as yet not fruitful in results." It is very earnestly to be desired that either along the lines the judge indicates,

or in some other way equally efficacious, the Congress may exercise the power which he holds it possesses.

Superficially it may seem that the laws, the passage of which I herein again advocate—for I have repeatedly advocated them before—are not connected. But in reality they are connected. Each and every one of these laws, if enacted, would represent part of the campaign against privilege, part of the campaign to make the class of great property-holders realize that property has its duties no less than its rights. When the courts guarantee to the employer, as they should, the rights of the employer, and to property the rights of property, they should no less emphatically make it evident that they will exact from property and from the employer the duties which should necessarily accompany these rights; and hitherto our laws have failed in precisely this point of enforcing the performance of duty by the man of property toward the man who works for him, by the man of great wealth, especially if he uses that wealth in corporate form, toward the investor, the wage-worker, and the general public. The permanent failure of the man of property to fulfil his obligations would ultimately assure the wresting from him of the privileges which he is entitled to enjoy only if he recognizes the obligations accompanying them. Those who assume or share the responsibility for this failure are rendering but a poor service to the cause which they believe they champion.

I do not know whether it is possible, but if possible it is certainly desirable, that in connection with measures to restrain stock watering and overcapitalization there should be measures taken to prevent at least the grosser forms of gambling in securities and commodities, such as making large sales of what men do not possess and "cornering" the market. Legitimate purchases of commodities and of stocks and securities for investment have no connection whatever with purchases of stocks or other securities or commodities on a margin for speculative and gambling purposes. There is no moral difference between gambling at cards or in lotteries or on the racetrack and gambling in the stock market. One method is just as pernicious to the body politic as the other in kind, and in degree the evil worked is far greater. But it is a far more difficult subject with which to deal. The great bulk of the business transacted on the exchanges is not only legitimate, but is necessary to the working of our modern industrial system, and extreme care would have to be taken not to interfere with this business in doing away with the "bucket-shop" type of operation. We should study both the successes and the failures of foreign legislators who, notably in Germany, have worked along this line, so as not to do anything harmful. Moreover, there is a special difficulty in dealing with this matter by the Federal Government in a Federal Republic like ours. But if it is possible to devise a way to deal with it, the effort should be made, even if only in a cautious and tentative

way. It would seem that the Federal Government could at least act by forbidding the use of the mails, telegraph and telephone wires for mere gambling in stocks and futures, just as it does in lottery transactions.

I enclose herewith a statement issued by the Chief of the Bureau of Corporations (Appendix 1), in answer to certain statements (which I also enclose) made by and on behalf of the agents of the Standard Oil Corporation (Appendix 2), and a letter of the Attorney-General (Appendix 3) containing an answer to certain statements, also enclosed, made by the president of the Santa Fe Railway Company (Appendix 4). The Standard Oil Corporation and the railway company have both been found guilty by the courts of criminal misconduct; both have been sentenced to pay heavy fines; and each has issued and published broadcast these statements, asserting their innocence and denouncing as improper the action of the courts and juries in convicting them of guilt. These statements are very elaborate, are very ingenious, and are untruthful in important particulars. The following letter and enclosed from Mr. Heney sufficiently illustrate the methods of the high officials of the Santa Fe and show the utter falsity of their plea of ignorance, the similar plea of the Standard Oil being equally without foundation:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY,
DISTRICT OF OREGON,

Portland, January 11, 1908.

The PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I understand that Mr. Ripley, of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway system, has commented with some severity upon your attitude toward the payment of rebates by certain transcontinental railroads, and that he has declared that he personally never knew anything about any rebates being granted by his road. . . . I enclose you herewith copy of a letter from Edward Chambers, general freight traffic manager of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway system, to Mr. G. A. Davidson, auditor of the same company, dated February 27, 1907. . . .

This letter does not deal with interstate shipments, but the constitution of the State of California makes the payment of rebates by railroads a misdemeanor, and Mr. Ripley has apparently not been above the commission of crime to secure business. You are at liberty to use this enclosure in any way that you think it can be of service to yourself or the public. . . .

Sincerely, yours,

FRANCIS J. HENEY.

San Francisco,
February 27, 1907.

Dear Sir—I hand you herewith a file of papers covering the movement of fuel oil shipped by the Associated Oil Company over our line from January 1, 1906, up to and including November 15, 1906.

We agreed with the Associated Oil Company's negotiations with Mr. Ripley, Mr. Wells, and myself, that in consideration of their making us a special price on oil for company use, which is covered by a contract, and the further consideration that we would take a certain quantity, they would in turn ship from Bakersfield over our line to San Francisco Bay points a certain minimum number of barrels of fuel oil at rate of 25 cents per barrel from Bakersfield, exclusive of the switching charge.

These statements cover the movement, except that they have included Stockton, which is not correct, as it is not a bay point and could not be reached as conveniently by water. We have paid them on account of this movement $7,239, which should be deducted from the total of movement shown in the attached papers.

I wish you would arrange to make up a statement, check the same, and refund to the Associated Oil Company down to the basis of 25 cents per barrel from Bakersfield, where they are the shippers, regardless of who is consignee, as all their fuel oil is sold delivered. The reason for making this deal, in addition to what I have stated, is that the

Associated Oil Company have their own boats and carry oil from fields controlled by themselves along the coast near San Luis Obispo to San Francisco at a much lower cost than the special rate we have made them and in competition with the Union Oil Company and the Standard Oil Company, it was necessary for them to sell at the San Francisco Bay points on the basis of the cost of water transportation from the coast fields. They figured they could only afford to pay us the 25 cents per barrel if by doing this they sold our company a certain amount of fuel oil, otherwise the business covered by the attached papers would have come in by boat from the coast fields.

I am writing this up completely, so that there may be in the papers a history of the reasons why this arrangement was made. I wish you would go ahead and make the adjustment as soon as possible, as the Associated Oil Company are very anxious to have the matter closed up. The arrangement was canceled on November 15 at a conference between Mr. Ripley, Mr. Wells, Mr. Porter, and myself.

Yours truly,

EDWARD CHAMBERS.

SHIPMENTS-ASSOCIATED OIL COMPANY,
Mr. G. A. DAVIDSON,
Auditor, *Los Angeles*.

The attacks by these great corporations on the Administration's actions have been given a wide circulation throughout the country, in the newspa-

pers and otherwise, by those writers and speakers who, consciously or unconsciously, act as the representatives of predatory wealth—of the wealth accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage-workers to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition, and to defrauding the public by stock-jobbing and the manipulation of securities. Certain wealthy men of this stamp, whose conduct should be abhorrent to every man of ordinarily decent conscience, and who commit the hideous wrong of teaching our young men that phenomenal business success must ordinarily be based on dishonesty, have during the last few months made it apparent that they have banded together to work for a reaction. Their endeavor is to overthrow and discredit all who honestly administer the law, to prevent any additional legislation which would check and restrain them, and to secure if possible a freedom from all restraint which will permit every unscrupulous wrong-doer to do what he wishes unchecked provided he has enough money. The only way to counteract the movement in which these men are engaged is to make clear to the public just what they have done in the past and just what they are seeking to accomplish in the present.

The Administration and those who support its views are not only not engaged in an assault on property, but are strenuous upholders of the rights of property. The wise attitude to take is admirably stated by Governor Fort of New Jersey in his

recent inaugural address; the principles which he upholds as regards the State being, of course, identical with those which should obtain as regards the Nation.

"Just and fair regulation can only be objected to by those misconceiving the rights of the State. The State grants all corporate powers to its railways and other public utility corporations, and may not only modify but repeal all charters and charter privileges it confers. It may, therefore, impose conditions upon their operation at its pleasure. Of course, in the doing of these things, it should act wisely and with conservatism, protecting all vested rights of property and the interests of the innocent holders of the securities of existing *quasi*-public corporations. Regulation, therefore, upon a wise basis, of the operation of these public utilities companies, including the fixing of rates and public charges, upon complaint and subject to court review, should be intrusted to a proper board, as well as the right to regulate the output of stock and the bonded issues of such corporations. If this were done it would inure to the benefit of the people and the companies, for it would fix the value of such securities, and act as a guaranty against their depreciation. Under such a law the holders of existing securities would find them protected, and new securities offered would have the confidence of the people, because of the guaranty of the State that they were only issued for extensions or betterments and upon some basis of the cost of such extensions or bet-

terments. It is difficult to suggest any legislation that would give greater confidence to the public and investors than a wise public utilities bill; and the mere suggestion of its enactment should cause this class of security holders to feel that their holdings were strengthened, and that the State was about to aid the managers of its public utility corporations to conserve their corporate property for the public benefit and for the protection of invested capital. . . .

"The time has come for the strict supervision of these great corporations and the limitation of their stock and bond issues under some proper public official. It will make for conservatism, and strengthen the companies doing a legitimate business, and eliminate, let us hope, those which are merely speculative in character and organized simply to catch the unsuspecting or credulous investor. Corporations have come in our business world to remain for all time. Corporate methods are the most satisfactory for business purposes in many cases. Every business or enterprise honestly incorporated should be protected, and the public made to feel confidence in its corporate organization. Capital invested in corporations must be as free from wrongful attack as that invested by individuals, and the State should do everything to foster and protect invested corporate capital and encourage the public in giving to it support and confidence. Nothing will do so much to achieve this desirable result as proper supervision and reasonable control over stock and bond issues, so that overcapitaliza-

tion will be prevented and the people may know when they buy a share of stock or a bond . . . that the name of the State upon it stands as a guaranty that there is value behind it and reasonable safety in its purchase. The act must make it clear that the intent of the supervision by the Commissioner is not for the purpose of striking at corporate organizations or invested corporate capital, but rather to recognize and protect existing conditions and ensure greater safeguards for the future. . . .

"Capital does not go into a State where reprisals are taken or vested interests are injured; it comes only where wise, conservative, safe treatment is assured, and it should be our policy to encourage and secure corporate rights and the best interests of stock and bond holders committed to our legal care."

Under no circumstances would we countenance attacks upon law-abiding property, or do aught but condemn those who hold up rich men as being evil men because of their riches. On the contrary, our whole effort is to insist upon conduct, and neither wealth nor property nor any other class distinction, as being the proper standard by which to judge the actions of men. For the honest man of great wealth we have a hearty regard, just as we have a hearty regard for the honest politician and honest newspaper. But part of the movement to uphold honesty must be a movement to frown on dishonesty. We attack only the corrupt men of wealth, who

find in the purchased politician the most efficient instrument of corruption and in the purchased newspaper the most efficient defender of corruption. Our main quarrel is not with these agents and representatives of the interests. They derive their chief power from the great sinister offenders who stand behind them. They are but puppets, who move as the strings are pulled. It is not the puppets, but the strong, cunning men and the mighty forces working for evil behind and through the puppets, with whom we have to deal. We seek to control law-defying wealth; in the first place to prevent its doing dire evil to the Republic, and in the next place to avoid the vindictive and dreadful radicalism which, if left uncontrolled, it is certain in the end to arouse. Sweeping attacks upon all property, upon all men of means, without regard to whether they do well or ill, would sound the death-knell of the Republic; and such attacks become inevitable if decent citizens permit those rich men whose lives are corrupt and evil to domineer in swollen pride, unchecked and unhindered, over the destinies of this country. We act in no vindictive spirit, and we are no respecters of persons. If a labor union does wrong, we oppose it as firmly as we oppose a corporation which does wrong; and we stand equally stoutly for the rights of the man of wealth and for the rights of the wage-worker. We seek to protect the property of every man who acts honestly, of every corporation that represents wealth honestly accumulated and honestly used.

We seek to stop wrong-doing, and we desire to punish the wrong-doers only so far as is necessary to achieve this end.

There are ample material rewards for those who serve with fidelity the mammon of unrighteousness; but they are dearly paid for by the people who permit their representatives, whether in public life, in the press, or in the colleges where their young men are taught, to preach and to practice that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. The amount of money the representatives of certain great moneyed interests are willing to spend can be gauged by their recent publication broadcast throughout the papers of this country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, of huge advertisements attacking with envenomed bitterness the Administration's policy of warring against successful dishonesty, and by their circulation of pamphlets and books prepared with the same object; while they likewise push the circulation of the writings and speeches of men who, whether because they are misled, or because, seeing the light, they yet are willing to sin against the light, serve these their masters of great wealth to the cost of the plain people. The books and pamphlets, the controlled newspapers, the speeches by public or private men, to which I refer, are usually and especially in the interest of the Standard Oil Trust and of certain notorious railroad combinations, but they also defend other individuals and corporations of great wealth that have been guilty of wrong-doing. It

is only rarely that the men responsible for the wrong-doing themselves speak or write. Normally they hire others to do their bidding, or find others who will do it without hire. From the Railroad Rate Law to the Pure Food Law, every measure for honesty in business that has been passed during the last six years has been opposed by these men on its passage and in its administration with every resource that bitter and unscrupulous craft could suggest and the command of almost unlimited money secure. But for the last year the attack has been made with most bitterness upon the actual administration of the law, especially through the Department of Justice, but also through the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Bureau of Corporations. The extraordinary violence of the assaults upon our policy contained in these speeches, editorials, articles, advertisements, and pamphlets, and the enormous sums of money spent in these various ways, give a fairly accurate measure of the anger and terror which our public actions have caused the corrupt men of vast wealth to feel in the very marrow of their being. The attack is sometimes made openly against us for enforcing the law, and sometimes, with a certain cunning, for not trying to enforce it in some other way than that which experience shows to be practical. One of the favorite methods of the latter class of assailant is to attack the Administration for not procuring the imprisonment instead of the fine of offenders under these antitrust laws. The man

making this assault is usually either a prominent lawyer or an editor who takes his policy from the financiers and his arguments from their attorneys. If the former, he has defended and advised many wealthy malefactors, and he knows well that, thanks to the advice of lawyers like himself, a certain kind of modern corporation has been turned into an admirable instrument by which to render it wellnigh impossible to get at the head of the corporation, at the man who is really most guilty. When we are able to put the real wrong-doer in prison, this is what we strive to do; this is what we have actually done with some very wealthy criminals, who, moreover, represented that most baneful of all alliances, the alliance between the corruption of organized politics and the corruption of high finance. This is what we have done in the Gaynor and Greene case, in the case of the misapplication of funds in connection with certain great banks in Chicago, in the land-fraud cases, where, as in other cases likewise, neither the highest political position nor the possession of great wealth has availed to save the offenders from prison. The Federal Government does scourge sin; it does bid sinners fear; for it has put behind the bars with impartial severity the powerful financier, the powerful politician, the rich land thief, the rich contractor—all, no matter how high their station, against whom criminal misdeeds can be proved. All their wealth and power can not protect them. But it often happens that the effort to imprison a given defendant is certain to be fu-

tile, while it is possible to fine him or to fine the corporation of which he is head; so that, in other words, the only way of punishing the wrong is by fining the corporation, unless we are content to proceed personally against the minor agents. The corporation lawyers to whom I refer and their employers are the men mainly responsible for this state of things, and their responsibility is shared with all who ingeniously oppose the passing of just and effective laws, or who fail to execute them when they have been put on the statute books.

Much is said, in these attacks upon the policy of the present Administration, about the rights of "innocent stockholders." That stockholder is not innocent who voluntarily purchases stock in a corporation whose methods and management he knows to be corrupt; and stockholders are bound to try to secure honest management, or else are estopped from complaining about the proceedings the Government finds necessary in order to compel the corporation to obey the law. There has been in the past grave wrong done innocent stockholders by overcapitalization, stock-watering, stock-jobbing, stock-manipulation. This we have sought to prevent, first, by exposing the thing done and punishing the offender when any existing law had been violated; second, by recommending the passage of laws which would make unlawful similar practices for the future. The public men, lawyers, and editors who loudly proclaim their sympathy for the "innocent stockholders" when a great law-defying

corporation is punished are the first to protest with frantic vehemence against all efforts by law to put a stop to the practices which are the real and ultimate sources of the damage alike to the stockholders and the public. The apologists of successful dishonesty always declaim against any effort to punish or prevent it, on the ground that any such effort will "unsettle business." It is they who by their acts have unsettled business; and the very men raising this cry spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in securing, by speech, editorial, book, or pamphlet, the defence by misstatements of what they have done; and yet when public servants correct their misstatements by telling the truth they declaim against them for breaking silence, lest "values be depreciated." They have hurt honest business men, honest working men, honest farmers; and now they clamor against the truth being told.

The keynote of all these attacks upon the effort to secure honesty in business and in politics is well expressed in brazen protests against any effort for the moral regeneration of the business world, on the ground that it is unnatural, unwarranted, and injurious, and that business panic is the necessary penalty for such effort to secure business honesty. The morality of such a plea is precisely as great as if made on behalf of the men caught in a gambling establishment when that gambling establishment is raided by the police. If such words mean anything they mean that those whose sentiments

they represent stand against the effort to bring about a moral regeneration of business which will prevent a repetition of the insurance, banking, and street railroad scandals in New York; a repetition of the Chicago and Alton deal; a repetition of the combination between certain professional politicians, certain professional labor leaders, and certain big financiers, from the disgrace of which San Francisco has just been rescued; a repetition of the successful effort by the Standard Oil people to crush out every competitor, to overawe the common carriers, and to establish a monopoly which treats the public with a contempt which the public deserves so long as it permits men of such principles and such sentiments to avow and act on them with impunity. The outcry against stopping dishonest practices among wrong-doers who happen to be wealthy is precisely similar to the outcry raised against every effort for cleanliness and decency in city government, because, forsooth, it will "hurt business." The same outcry is made against the Department of Justice for prosecuting the heads of colossal corporations that has been made against the men who in San Francisco have prosecuted with impartial severity the wrong-doers among business men, public officials, and labor leaders alike. The principle is the same in the two cases. Just as the blackmailer and bribe-giver stand on the same evil eminence of infamy, so the man who makes an enormous fortune by corrupting legislatures and municipalities, and fleecing his stockhold-

ers and the public, stands on the same moral level with the creature who fattens on the blood money of the gambling-house and the saloon. Moreover, in the last analysis, both kinds of corruption are far more intimately connected than would at first sight appear; the wrong-doing is at bottom the same. Corrupt business and corrupt politics act and react with ever-increasing debasement, one on the other; the corrupt head of a corporation and the corrupt labor leader are both in the same degree the enemies of honest corporations and honest labor unions; the rebate taker, the franchise trafficker, the manipulator of securities, the purveyor and protector of vice, the blackmailing ward boss, the ballot-box stuffer, the demagogue, the mob leader, the hired bully, and mankiller—all alike work at the same web of corruption, and all alike should be abhorred by honest men.

The "business" which is hurt by the movement for honesty is the kind of business which, in the long run, it pays the country to have hurt. It is the kind of business which has tended to make the very name "high finance" a term of scandal to which all honest American men of business should join in putting an end. The special pleaders for business dishonesty, in denouncing the present Administration for enforcing the law against the huge and corrupt corporations which have defied the law, also denounce it for endeavoring to secure sadly needed labor legislation, such as a far-reaching law making employers liable for injuries to their em-

ployees. It is meet and fit that the apologists for corrupt wealth should oppose every effort to relieve weak and helpless people from crushing misfortune brought upon them by injury in the business from which they gain a bare livelihood. The burden should be distributed. It is hypocritical baseness to speak of a girl who works in a factory where the dangerous machinery is unprotected as having the "right" freely to contract to expose herself to dangers to life and limb. She has no alternative but to suffer want or else to expose herself to such dangers, and when she loses a hand or is otherwise maimed or disfigured for life, it is a moral wrong that the whole burden of the risk necessarily incidental to the business should be placed with crushing weight upon her weak shoulders, and all who profit by her work escape scot-free. This is what opponents of a just employers' liability law advocate; and it is consistent that they should usually also advocate immunity for those most dangerous members of the criminal class—the criminals of great wealth.

Our opponents have recently been bitterly criticising the two judges referred to in the accompanying communications from the Standard Oil Company and the Santa Fe Railroad for having imposed heavy fines on these two corporations; and yet these same critics of these two judges exhaust themselves in denouncing the most respectful and cautious discussion of the official action of a judge which results in immunity to wealthy and

powerful wrong-doers or which renders nugatory a temperate effort to better the conditions of life and work among those of our fellow countrymen whose need is greatest. Most certainly it behooves us all to treat with the utmost respect the high office of judge; and our judges, as a whole, are brave and upright men. Respect for the law must go hand in hand with respect for the judges; and, as a whole, it is true now as in the past that the judges stand in character and service above all other men among their fellow-servants of the public. There is all the greater need that the few who fail in this great office, who fall below this high standard of integrity, of wisdom, of sympathetic understanding and of courage, should have their eyes opened to the needs of their countrymen. A judge who on the bench either truckles to the mob and shrinks from sternly repressing violence and disorder, or bows down before a corporation; who fails to stand up valiantly for the rights of property on the one hand, or on the other, by misuse of the process of injunction or by his attitude toward all measures for the betterment of the conditions of labor, makes the wage-worker feel with bitterness that the courts are hostile to him; or who fails to realize that all public servants in their several stations must strive to stop the abuses of the criminal rich—such a man performs an even worse service to the body politic than the legislator or executive who goes wrong. The judge who does his full duty well stands higher, and renders a better

service to the people, than any other public servant; he is entitled to greater respect; and if he is a true servant of the people, if he is upright, wise and fearless, he will unhesitatingly disregard even the wishes of the people if they conflict with the eternal principles of right as against wrong. He must serve the people; but he must serve his own conscience first. All honor to such a judge; and all honor can not be rendered him if it is rendered equally to his brethren who fall immeasurably below the high ideals for which he stands. Untruthful criticism is wicked at all times, and whoever may be the object; but it is a peculiarly flagrant iniquity when a judge is the object. No man should lightly criticise a judge; no man should, even in his own mind, condemn a judge unless he is sure of the facts. If a judge is assailed for standing against popular folly, and above all for standing against mob violence, all honorable men should rally instantly to his support. Nevertheless if he clearly fails to do his duty by the public in dealing with law-breaking corporations, law-breaking men of wealth, he must expect to feel the weight of public opinion; and this is but right, for except in extreme cases this is the only way in which he can be reached at all. No servant of the people has a right to expect to be free from just and honest criticism.

The opponents of the measures we champion single out now one and now another measure for especial attack, and speak as if the movement in which we are engaged was purely economic. It has

a large economic side, but it is fundamentally an ethical movement. It is not a movement to be completed in one year, or two or three years; it is a movement which must be persevered in until the spirit which lies behind it sinks deep into the heart and the conscience of the whole people. It is always important to choose the right means to achieve our purpose, but it is even more important to keep this purpose clearly before us; and this purpose is to secure national honesty in business and in politics. We do not subscribe to the cynical belief that dishonesty and unfair dealing are essential to business success, and are to be condoned when the success is moderate and applauded when the success is great. The methods by which the Standard Oil people and those engaged in the other combinations of which I have spoken above have achieved great fortunes can only be justified by the advocacy of a system of morality which would also justify every form of criminality on the part of a labor union, and every form of violence, corruption, and fraud, from murder to bribery and ballot-box stuffing in politics. We are trying to secure equality of opportunity for all; and the struggle for honesty is the same whether it is made on behalf of one set of men or of another. In the interest of the small settlers and landowners, and against the imbittered opposition of wealthy owners of huge wandering flocks of sheep, or of corporations desiring to rob the people of coal and timber, we strive to put an end to the theft of public land in the West. When we do this, and

protest against the action of all men, whether in public life or in private life, who either take part in or refuse to try to stop such theft, we are really engaged in the same policy as when we endeavor to put a stop to rebates or to prevent the upgrowth of uncontrolled monopolies. Our effort is simply to enforce the principles of common honesty and common-sense. It would indeed be ill for the country should there be any halt in our work.

The laws must in the future be administered as they are now being administered, so that the Department of Justice may continue to be, what it now is, in very fact the Department of Justice, where, so far as our ability permits, justice is meted out with an even hand to great and small, rich and poor, weak and strong. Moreover, there should be no delay in supplementing the laws now on the statute books by the enactment of further legislation as outlined in the message I sent to the Congress on its assembling. Under the existing laws much, very much, has been actually accomplished during the past six years, and it has been shown by actual experience that they can be enforced against the wealthiest corporation and the richest and most powerful manager or manipulator of that corporation, as rigorously and fearlessly as against the humblest offender. Above all, they have been enforced against the very wrong-doers and agents of wrong-doers who have for so many years gone scot-free and flouted the laws with impunity, against great law-defying corporations of immense wealth,

which, until within the last half dozen years, have treated themselves and have expected others to treat them as being beyond and above all possible check from law.

It is especially necessary to secure to the representatives of the National Government full power to deal with the great corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and above all with the great interstate common carriers. Our people should clearly recognize that while there are difficulties in any course of conduct to be followed in dealing with these great corporations, these difficulties must be faced, and one of three courses followed.

The first course is to abandon all effort to oversee and control their actions in the interest of the general public and to permit a return to the utter lack of control which would obtain if they were left to the common law. I do not for one moment believe that our people would tolerate this position. The extraordinary growth of modern industrialism has rendered the common law, which grew up under and was adapted to deal with totally different conditions, in many respects inadequate to deal with the new conditions. These new conditions make it necessary to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions, and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and the Nation toward the rules regulating the acquisition and un-

trammeled business use of property, in order both that property may be adequately protected, and that at the same time those who hold it may be prevented from wrong-doing.

The second and third courses are to have the regulation undertaken either by the Nation or by the States. Of course in any event both the National Government and the several State Governments must do each its part, and each can do a certain amount that the other can not do, while the only really satisfactory results must be obtained by the representatives of the National and State Governments working heartily together within their respective spheres. But in my judgment thoroughgoing and satisfactory control can in the end only be obtained by the action of the National Government, for almost all the corporations of enormous wealth —that is, the corporations which it is especially desirable to control—are engaged in interstate commerce, and derive their power and their importance not from that portion of their business which is intrastate, but from the interstate business. It is not easy always to decide just where the line of demarcation between the two kinds of business falls. This line must ultimately be drawn by the Federal courts. Much of the effort to secure adequate control of the great corporations by State action has been wise and effective, but much of it has been neither; for when the effort is made to accomplish by the action of the State what can only be accomplished by the action of the Nation, the result can

only be disappointment, and in the end the law will probably be declared unconstitutional. So likewise in the National arena, we who believe in the measures herein advocated are hampered and not aided by the extremists who advocate action so violent that it would either be useless or else would cause more mischief than it would remedy.

In a recent letter from a learned judge of the supreme court of one of the Gulf States, the writer speaks as follows:

"In all matters pertaining to interstate commerce the authority of the National Government already exists and does not have to be acquired, and the exercise of this existing authority can be in no sense a usurpation of, or infringement upon, the rights of the States. On the contrary, had the Federal Government given this question more attention in the past and applied a vigorous check to corporate abuses, conditions would now be better, because the States would have had fewer real or imaginary grievances and have had less cause not only to attempt the exercise of the authority reserved to the National Government, but to act without proper moderation in matters peculiarly within their own provinces. The National Government has been remiss in the past, but even at this late day it can solve this problem, and the sooner the National authority is exercised the less apt are the States to take action which will represent encroachment upon the National domain. There is a field of operations for both powers, and plenty alike for National and State Governments

to do in order to protect both the people and the public utilities. The line of demarcation between Federal and State authority can and should be speedily settled by the Federal courts. The fact that the National Government has omitted to exercise the authority conferred upon it by the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution has made the States restive under what they deem corporate abuses and in some cases has probably stimulated them to go too far in the attempt to correct these abuses, with the result that all measures which they passed, good or bad, have been held up by the Federal courts. The necessary equitable and uniform regulation can not be obtained by the separate action of the States, but only by the affirmative action of the National Government."

This is an appeal by a high State judge, alarmed, as good citizens should be alarmed, by conflicts over the matter of jurisdiction, and by the radical action advocated by honest people smarting from a sense of injury received from corporations; which injury the Federal courts forbid the States to try to remedy, while the Federal Government nevertheless refrains from itself taking adequate measures to provide a remedy. It can not too strongly be insisted that the defenders and apologists of the great corporations, who have sought in the past and still seek to prevent adequate action by the Federal Government to control these great corporations, are not only proving false to the people, but are laying up a day of wrath for the great corporations themselves.

The Nation will not tolerate an utter lack of control over very wealthy men of enormous power in the industrial, and therefore in the social, lives of all our people, some of whom have shown themselves cynically and brutally indifferent to the interests of the people; and if the Congress does not act, with good-tempered and sensible but resolute thoroughness, in cutting out the evils and in providing an effective supervision, the result is certain to be action on the part of the separate States, sometimes wise, sometimes ill-judged and extreme, sometimes unjust and damaging to the railroads or other corporations, more often ineffective from every standpoint, because the Federal courts declare it unconstitutional.

We have just passed through two months of acute financial stress. At any such time it is a sad fact that entirely innocent people suffer from no fault of their own; and every one must feel the keenest sympathy for the large body of honest business men, of honest investors, of honest wage-workers, who suffer because involved in a crash for which they are in no way responsible. At such a time there is a natural tendency on the part of many men to feel gloomy and frightened at the outlook; but there is no justification for this feeling. There is no nation so absolutely sure of ultimate success as ours. Of course we shall succeed. Ours is a Nation of masterful energy, with a continent for its domain, and it feels within its veins the thrill which comes to those who know that they possess the future. We are not cast down by the

fear of failure. We are upheld by the confident hope of ultimate triumph. The wrongs that exist are to be corrected; but they in no way justify doubt as to the final outcome, doubt as to the great material prosperity of the future, or of the lofty spiritual life which is to be built upon that prosperity as a foundation. No misdeeds done in the present must be permitted to shroud from our eyes the glorious future of the Nation; but because of this very fact it behooves us never to swerve from our resolute purpose to cut out wrong-doing and uphold what is right.

I do not for a moment believe that the actions of this Administration have brought on business distress; so far as this is due to local and not world-wide causes, and to the actions of any particular individuals, it is due to the speculative folly and flagrant dishonesty of a few men of great wealth, who seek to shield themselves from the effects of their own wrong-doing by ascribing its results to the actions of those who have sought to put a stop to the wrong-doing. But if it were true that to cut out rottenness from the body politic meant a momentary check to an unhealthy seeming prosperity, I should not for one moment hesitate to put the knife to the corruption. On behalf of all our people, on behalf no less of the honest man of means than of the honest man who earns each day's livelihood by that day's sweat of his brow, it is necessary to insist upon honesty in business and politics alike, in all walks of life, in big things

and in little things; upon just and fair dealing as between man and man. Those who demand this are striving for the right in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln when he said:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

In the work we of this generation are in, there is, thanks be to the Almighty, no danger of bloodshed and no use for the sword; but there is grave need of those stern qualities shown alike by the men of the North and the men of the South in the dark days when each valiantly battled for the light as it was given each to see the light. Their spirit should be our spirit, as we strive to bring nearer the day when greed and trickery and cunning shall be trampled under foot by those who fight for the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE ARLINGTON CONFEDERATE MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 6, 1908

Mr. Herbert and Ladies and Gentlemen:

As I have already had to tell you, for the reasons I then gave you, Mr. Herbert, it is not possible for me to attend. If I broke through my rule in one case it would mean I would have to break through in many others. If there were any case in which I could break through it, it would be this; for I wish to express my deepest sympathy with and most cordial approval of the purpose and the importance of what you are going to do.

The monument to the Confederate dead which you will raise will commemorate, among many scores of thousands that it will thus commemorate, my mother's half-brother; and my mother's whole-brother went down in the "Alabama," having fired the last gun fired from her, but was picked up in the escape and lived for many years afterward. When I was at Vicksburg I was taken out to see the battlefield, the Park as it now is, and I studied with peculiar and reverential attention the inscription which you have just quoted on the Pennsylvania monument. I was taken up to see it by a bodyguard composed equally of Union and Confederate veterans. I feel that among all nations we have been blessed peculiarly beyond all others, because now the memory of the valor shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray is a heritage of honor for the whole country. Not far from the

monument which will stand to commemorate the Confederate dead, not far from the many monuments commemorating those who died in the Union army, at Arlington, now stands the monument to the soldiers of my regiment who died at Santiago; and among those I should say there are about as many whose fathers wore the gray as whose fathers wore the blue; so, in a sense, that little monument to those who died in the little war helps to emphasize the reason for the monument to those who died in the great war. I wish you all success; and I wish that it were in my power to do more, and thus to testify, as I am now testifying, to my sympathy for the success of the patriotic endeavor in which you are engaged.

LETTER TO HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE COVERING GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS

February 7, 1908.

My Dear Mr. Foulke:

The statement that I have used the offices in the effort to nominate any Presidential candidate is both false and malicious. It is the usual imaginative invention which flows from a desire to say something injurious. Remember that those now making this accusation were busily engaged two months ago in asserting that I was using the offices to secure my own renomination. It is the kind of accusation which for the next few months will be rife. This particular slander will be used until exploded, and when exploded those who have used it will promptly

invent another. Such being the case, I almost question whether it is worth while answering; but as it is you who ask, why, the answer you shall have.

Since the present Congress assembled, two months ago, I have sent to the Senate the names of all the officials I have appointed for the entire period since Congress adjourned on the 4th of March last, that is, for eleven months. Excluding army and navy officers, scientific experts, health officers, and those of the revenue cutter service, I have made during this period about thirteen hundred and fifty-two appointments subject to confirmation by the Senate, eleven hundred and sixty-four being postmasters. Of these, appointments in the diplomatic and consular service and in the Indian service have been made without regard to politics; in the diplomatic and consular services, more Democrats than Republicans having been appointed, as we are trying to even up the quotas of the Southern States. In nominating judges I have treated politics as a wholly secondary consideration, and instead of relying solely upon the recommendations of either Senators or Congressmen, have always conducted independent inquiries myself, personally through members of the bench or the bar whom I happened to know, or through Attorney General Bonaparte, Secretary Taft, who was himself a judge; Secretary Root, because of his great experience at the bar, or Senator Knox, who was formerly my Attorney General. In a number of the other offices, chiefly assistant secretaries or heads

of bureaus here at Washington, but also Governors of Territories or men holding peculiar positions—such, for instance, as that of Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico—and also in a few other cases, notably those of marshals in certain of the Western States, but including various offices also here and there throughout the Union, I have either felt that the position was of such a character that the initiative in the choice could only with propriety come from me or from one of the Cabinet officers, or else I have happened personally to know or to know of a man of such peculiar qualifications that I desired to appoint him on my own initiative.

There remain the great bulk of the offices, including almost all of the post-offices, the collectorships of customs, the appraiserships, the land officers, and the like, numbering some twelve hundred and fifty or thereabouts. It is of course out of the question for me personally to examine or have knowledge of such a multitude of appointments, and therefore as regards them I normally accept the suggestions of Senators and Congressmen, the elected representatives of the people in the localities concerned, always reserving to myself the right to insist upon the man's coming up to the required standard of character and capacity, and also reserving the right to nominate whomever I choose if for any reason I am satisfied that I am not receiving from Senator or Congressman good advice, or if I happen personally to know some peculiarly fit man. Where the man has done well in office I prefer to reappoint him, and

do so when I can get the consent of the Senators from his locality; but if they refuse, the reappointment can not be made. Ordinarily, as a matter of convenience, the appointment can best be settled by consultation beforehand, the advice of the Senator or Congressman who is elected and has peculiar means of knowing the wishes of his constituents being taken. But where a Senator treats this not as a matter of consultation or mutual agreement, not as a matter of convenience and expediency, but as a matter of right on his part to nominate whomever he chooses, the custom is necessarily discontinued.

In the South Atlantic and Gulf States, which have contained neither Senators nor Congressmen of my own party, I have been obliged to seek my advice from various sources. In these States I have appointed large numbers of Democrats, in certain States the Democrats appointed outnumbering the Republicans. For advice in appointing the Republicans I have relied wherever possible not upon office holders at all, but upon men of standing and position who would not take office and on whose integrity I could depend. As instances merely, I will refer to Col. Cecil A. Lyon, of Texas, commanding one of the Texas National Guard regiments and a man of independent means, engaged in active business; and to Mr. Pearl Wight, of Louisiana, and to Mr. Coombs, of Florida, also men of independent means and of large business affairs; all of them being among the most respected men in their several States. These men, and most of the others upon whom I rely,

could not be persuaded to take any office in my gift; and I could no more coerce or control their political action than I could, for instance, that of presidents of chambers of commerce or colonels of national guard regiments in similar States in the North. In all of these States I have done my best, when I came to appointing Republicans, to put the best men in office—those whom the people of the locality accepted as such and regarded as leading citizens; and I have every reason to believe that the average of my appointees is very high. At present various efforts are being made to get up bolting delegations from the Southern States, and the meetings at which these so-called delegates are chosen are usually announced as "non-office holders' " conventions. As a rule, this means only, so far as it means anything, that they are held under the lead of persons who wish to be put in office, but whose character and capacity are such that they have not been regarded as fit to be appointed under this administration. In these cases, be it remembered that the failure to secure office is not the result of the political action of the men in question; on the contrary, their political action is due to their failure to secure office.

You quote a newspaper as saying:

"We are now getting daily lessons in civil service reform from the White House, which ought to attract national attention. The appointment of Taft workers to post-offices in Ohio, and of the totally unfit George W. Wanmaker as appraiser of this port, is now followed by the President's refusal to

reappoint a good Hughes man as collector of customs at Plattsburg."

This article is a good example of the accusations made by those of our opponents whose partisanship renders them especially unscrupulous and untruthful. Mr. Wanmaker's appointment was recommended by the three Congressmen from New York County and by the two Senators, the appointment being made precisely as the hundreds of similar appointments of postmasters, appraisers, internal revenue collectors and the like, which are confirmed by the Senate, are made, and in conformance with the custom which has obtained throughout my term of service, and throughout the terms of service of Mr. McKinley, Mr. Cleveland and my other predecessors. In this particular case, as it happens, Mr. Wanmaker is peculiarly fit for the position, being already an assistant appraiser who has rendered good service in that place, and his appointment is the promotion of a proper man; he was appointed assistant appraiser by President McKinley twelve years ago, has served as acting appraiser several times, and has a very good record. "The refusal to reappoint a good Hughes man as collector of customs at Plattsburg" refers to the case of Mr. Walter Witherbee, and the accusation in this case is particularly comic, because Mr. Witherbee was an open and avowed Taft man, the classmate of Secretary Taft's brother at Yale, and both Secretary Taft and his brother requested his reappointment—the only New York office holder for whom they made such a re-

quest. The Congressman from his district and the Senators have not agreed about his successor, and he is still in office. These facts were either known to the editors of the paper in question, or could have been found out by the slightest inquiry. There remains the allegations as to the appointment of "Taft workers" to post-offices in Ohio. In Ohio I have made fifty-eight post-office appointments; twenty-seven of these were reappointments, thirty-one were new appointments, the last including the cases where the incumbent had died, had been removed for cause, or had resigned. Generally the appointment was made exactly as in other States, upon the recommendation of the Congressman from the district. In various cases, however, as at Maumee, Strasburg, Bluffton, Greenville, and Leipsic, the nominations were made upon the recommendation of both Senators Foraker and Dick, or of one or the other. In four cases, the nominations were rejected by the Senate. In two of these, Dennison and Uhrichsville, the nominations of the new men were made on the recommendation of the then Congressman, Mr. Smyser; in each case the previous incumbent had not been giving very satisfactory service, in one instance he having failed to give sufficient personal attention to the office, as reported by the inspector, and in the other case the postmaster being also the publisher and editor of a newspaper and various irregularities having been noticed, some resulting in violation of law in the interest of the postmaster's paper. The course followed was precisely similar to

that followed in the case of the various other post offices in Ohio in the districts represented by Congressmen Keifer, Kennedy, Cole, and others, and precisely similar to the course followed as regards the recommendations of this same Congressman Smyser in other offices. At Spencerville investigation by the inspector showed that it was inadvisable to reappoint the incumbent, and that Mr. Wetherill, who had been originally recommended for this position by Senator Dick, should be appointed. Senator Dick afterward withdrew his recommendation, but the inspector reported that Mr. Wetherill had by that time already been appointed, and that to withhold his commission would be a great injury to him and would defeat the ends of justice. The nomination was accordingly sent in. At Wapakoneta the incumbent did his work well, but the post-office inspector reported that the feeling was almost unanimous among his fellow-townsmen that there should be a change, and a Mr. Moser appointed, it appearing that the postmaster was not popular with the people, while the man suggested for the nomination was unquestionably the choice of the patrons of the office, being regarded by them as a most progressive and public-spirited young business man, possessed of more than ordinary ability, "extremely popular with the people of his native city, irrespective of party affiliations." I call your attention to the fact that the Senate withdrew its opposition to one of these four men and confirmed him, so that the charge relates to only three out of the whole

number, eleven hundred and sixty-four post-offices; that of these three, two were nominated in the usual fashion on the recommendation of the outgoing Congressman; and that the third nomination was made on the report of the inspector and would have been made without the slightest regard to whether there was a Presidential canvsas on hand or not.

The statements in the editorial in question are therefore untrue in every particular.

As for your quotation from another newspaper, running as follows:

"Federal office holders may be commanded to use their influence and their authority in behalf of a candidate. Such a command has been issued and the President should know of it. . . . Somebody has instructed postmasters that they must obtain from their subordinates either their resignations or their pledges of support for Taft delegates to the convention. . . .

"Even in Massachusetts efforts of this kind have recently been made, but happily they have been stopped, partly because the postmasters on whom the attempts were made had the courage to resist, and partly from other causes."—

there is really nothing to say except that it does not contain the slightest particle of truth, and that the misstatement is so gross that it is difficult to believe it other than a deliberate invention. There is not the slightest foundation for it, and no successful effort can be made to show that there is the slightest

foundation for it. As regards the Massachusetts post-offices, in all except five cases my appointments were reappointments; that is, the incumbent was renominated, with the consent of the Senators or Congressmen, at the expiration of the regular term. Of these five cases, new men were put in three times because of death and twice because of the resignation of the incumbent. In each case, whether of appointment or reappointment, I followed the ordinary custom, accepting the suggestion either of the Senators or of the Congressmen, or both, as in each case the men suggested were eminently fit. Not a particle of difference has been made in this respect between those Congressmen who were for one presidential candidate and those Congressmen who were for another; and so far as I know, in every case the appointment has fully satisfied the local people. In other words, the appointments have been made not to control, but to recognize, the sentiment of the locality.

If such assertions as those of these papers are made in good faith, on knowledge of facts, and with any other purpose than to produce a political effect by false pretense, or by reckless statement without knowledge, let those making them produce the specific cases to which they refer. If in any such case the accusation is found true, it will have occurred without my knowledge, and I shall deal with it in the precise spirit of my instructions to the Civil Service Commission hereinafter referred to.

So far as I know the only other accusations that

have been made as to the use of patronage have been in connection with the pension agent in New Hampshire and a collector of internal revenue in Ohio. In the case of the pension officer, the Senators and Congressmen could not agree on a nominee, two recommending one man and two another. I decided to send in a man recommended to me by outsiders, whom I believed to be better than either. The Senate rejected him. His name would have been sent in if there had been no Presidential canvass at all at this time. As regards collectors of internal revenue, some are appointed upon the recommendations of Senators, and some on the recommendations of Congressmen. In Ohio the collector of internal revenue whom I nominated in the First District was recommended by the Congressman of the district. In the Tenth District I followed the recommendation of the two Senators. In other words, I followed the same course in Ohio as in other States as regards all these nominations, the only difference being that Ohio is the single State where the bulk of the Federal employees have been inclined to be against the Presidential candidate from the State. In New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin, so far as I know, the enormous majority of appointees are in each case for the Presidential candidate from the State. This has been true in Ohio; and my interference with patronage matters in Ohio has been limited to insisting, as I should insist anywhere else, that opposition to the purposes, policies, and friends of the administration shall not be considered as a necessary

prerequisite to holding the commission of the President.

In my letter to the Civil Service Commission of June 12, 1902, which now holds good, and will be enforced, officers are warned not to use their places to control political movements, nor to coerce their subordinates, nor to neglect their public duties for political work, nor to cause any public scandal by their political activity; but outside of the classified service they are not otherwise limited to political activity. No officer will be permitted to violate the above injunction, with my knowledge, no matter for what candidate he may be working; and I may add that the only officers as to whom any question of violation of this injunction has hitherto arisen has been men who are not working for Mr. Taft.

The above is a full statement of the facts. Not an appointment has been made that would not have been made if there had been no Presidential contest impending, and in no case has there been a deviation from the course that I would have pursued had none of those who actually are candidates for the nomination been candidates; nor has a single office holder been removed or threatened with removal, or coerced in any way to secure his support for any Presidential candidate. In fact, the only coercion that I have attempted to exercise was to forbid the office holders from pushing my own renomination, this being done in the following letter sent to the members of my Cabinet on November 19, 1907:

"I have been informed that certain office holders in your department are proposing to go to the National Convention as delegates in favor of renominating me for the Presidency, or are proposing to procure my endorsement for such renomination by State conventions. This must not be. I wish to inform such officers as you may find it advisable or necessary to inform in order to carry out the spirit of this instruction, that such advocacy of my renomination, or acceptance of an election as delegate for that purpose, will be regarded as a serious violation of official propriety, and will be dealt with accordingly. Yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE,
Richmond, Indiana.

TO THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 12, 1908

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a very real pleasure to me to greet the members of this association. I doubt if there is any lesson more essential to teach in an industrial democracy like ours than the lesson that any failure to train the average citizen to a belief in the things of the spirit no less than the things of the body, must in the long run entail misfortune, shortcoming, possible disaster upon the Nation itself. It is eminently right that we Americans should be proud of our material prosperity. It is eminently right that we

should pride ourselves upon a widely diffused and exceedingly practical system of education. I believe in both, but neither will avail if something else is not added to the Nation. The material prosperity is essential as a foundation, but it is only a foundation, and upon it must be built the superstructure of the higher moral and spiritual life; for otherwise in itself the material prosperity will amount to but little. So with our education itself; it is necessary that we should see that the children should be trained not merely in reading and writing, not merely in the elementary branches of learning strictly so defined; but trained industrially, trained adequately to meet the ever-increasing demands of the complex growth of our industrialism, trained agriculturally, trained in handicrafts, trained to be more efficient workers in every field of human activity. But they must be trained in more than that or the Nation will ultimately go down. They must be trained in the elementary branches of righteousness; they must be trained so that it shall come naturally to them to abhor that which is evil, or we never can see our democracy take the place which it must and shall take among the nations of the earth.

In making an address to, in greeting, any body like this, I always want my words taken at their exact face value. I do not believe ever in teaching what can not be practiced. I do not want ever to hear a man advise his hearers to "pay no regard to the things of the body," in life as it is to-day. On the contrary I would tell every young man that it is his

first duty to pull his own weight; to take care of himself and take care of those dependent upon him. He can not do anything for others until he has first made it certain that he will not be a burden upon others. I want to see a man able to earn his own livelihood. I want to see the woman able to do her part as housewife and mother. But my further plea is that the man shall not be content with merely this much; for he must realize that after a certain point has been reached effort which results only in the increment of his fortune, the increment of his material well-being, amounts to but very little compared to the result of effort spent for lofty ends, for the upbuilding of a high and noble type of national character.

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 26, 1908

Gentlemen and Ladies:

Of all the bodies of citizens that I have received here at the White House there is none which occupies a more important relation than yours—I am tempted to say none has come that has occupied as important a relation to the Nation, because you men and women who deal with education, who represent the great American policy of education for all children, provided by the public, as the prime duty of the public, bear a relation to the family, a relation to the future of our whole people, such as no other like number of individuals can bear. I own six of the

children that you educate and I am prepared to extend cordial sympathy to some of you!

Seriously, friends, it is idle for any man to talk of despairing of the future of this country or feeling unduly alarmed about it, if he will come in contact with you here and with the forces that you represent. Fundamentally this country is sound; morally no less than physically. Fundamentally, in its family life and in the outside activities of its individuals, the country is better and not worse than it formerly was. This does not mean that we are to be excused if we fail to war against rottenness and corruption, if we fail to contend effectively with the forces of evil; and they waste their time who ask me to withhold my hand from dealing therewith. But it is worth while to smite the wrong for the very reason that we are confident that the right will ultimately prevail. You who are training the next generation are training this country as it is to be a decade or two hence; and while your work in training the intellect is great, it is not as great as your work in training character. More than anything else I want to see the public school turn out the boy and girl who when man and woman will add to the sum of good citizenship of the Nation. It is not my province, nor would it be within my capacity, to speak about your pedagogic problems. You yourselves are far better able to discuss them. But as a layman let me say one or two things about your work.

In the first place, I trust that more and more our people will see to it that the schools train toward and

not away from the farm and the workshop. We have spoken a great deal about the dignity of labor in this country; but we have not acted up to our spoken words; for in our education we have tended to proceed upon the assumption that the educated man was to be educated away from and not toward labor. The great nations of medieval times who left such marvellous works of architecture and art behind them were able to do so because they educated alike the brain and hand of the craftsman. We too in our turn must show that we understand the law which decrees that a people which loses physical address invariably deteriorates; so that our people shall understand that the good carpenter, the good blacksmith, the good mechanic, the good farmer, really do fill the most important positions in our land; and that it is an evil thing for them and for the Nation to have their sons and daughters forsake the work which, if well and efficiently performed, means more than any other work for our people as a whole. One thing that I would like to have you teach your pupils is, that whether you call the money gained salary or wages does not make any real difference, and that if by working hard with your hands you get more than if you work with your head only, it does not atone for it to call the smaller amount salary. The term, "dignity of labor," implies that manual labor is as dignified as mental labor, as of course it is. Indeed, the highest kind of labor is that which makes demands upon the qualities of both head and hand, of heart, brain and body.

Physical prowess, physical address, are necessities; they stand on a level with intellect, and only below character. Let us show that we regard the position of the man who works with his hands as being ordinarily and in good faith as important and dignified and as worthy of consideration as that of business man or professional man. We need to have a certain readjustment of values in this country which must primarily come through the efforts of just you men and women here, and the men and women like you throughout this land.

I would not have you preach an impossible ideal; for if you preach an ideal that is impossible you tend to make your pupils believe that no ideals are possible, and therefore you tend to do them that worst of wrongs—to teach them to divorce preaching from practice, to divorce the ideal that they in the abstract admire from the practical good after which they strive. Teach the boy and girl that their business is to earn their own livelihood; teach the boy that he is to be the home-maker; teach the girl that she must ultimately be the home-keeper; that the work of the father is to be the bread-winner, and that of the mother the housekeeper; that their work is the most important by far in all the land; that the work of the statesman, the writer, the captain of industry, and all the rest is conditioned first upon the work that finds its expression in the family, that supports the family. So teach the boy that he is to be expected to earn his own livelihood; that it is a shame and scandal for him not to be self-dependent, not to be

able to hold his own in the rough work of actual life. Teach the girl that so far from its being her duty to try to avoid all labor, all effort, that it should be a matter of pride to her to be as good a housewife as her mother was before her. Sometimes the kindest and most well-meaning mother, sometimes a kind and well-meaning father also, do as much damage to the children as the most thoughtless and selfish parent could, by bringing them up to feel that the goal of their attainment should be the absence of effort instead of effort well directed. We have all of us often heard some good but unwise woman say, "I have worked hard; my daughter shan't work"; the poor woman not realizing that, great though the curse of mere drudgery of overwork is, it is not so great as the curse of vapid idleness; and that it does not make any difference whether the idleness is that of the hobo at one end of the scale or the gilded youth at the other. Do not waste time in envying the idler at either end of the social scale. Envy is not the proper attitude toward them. The proper attitude toward them is a good-humored but thorough-going disapproval of the man or woman who is so blind not only to the interests of society as a whole, but to his or her own real interests, as to believe that anything permanent can be gained from a life of selfish and vacuous idleness. Such idleness is the poorest investment in the long run that can be imagined; and there is no surer way to forfeit all chance of real happiness than to set deliberately to work to treat pleasure as the only aim after which to

strive. Teach the boy and girl to work; teach them that their proper duty is in the home; their duty to one another and toward their neighbors. Then teach them more; teach them to build upon this as a foundation the superstructure of the higher life. I want to see our education directed more and more toward training boys and girls back to the farm and the shop, so that they will be first-rate farmers, first-rate mechanics, fit to work with the head and to work with the hands; and realizing that work with the hands is just as honorable as work with the head. In addition I want to see a training that will make every boy, every girl, leaving the public schools, leaving the schools of the Nation, feel impelled so to carry himself or herself that the net result, when his or her life has been lived, shall be an addition to the sum total of decent living and achievement for the Nation; and have them understand that they are never going to amount to much in the big things if they don't first amount to something in the little things. The effort should be made to teach everyone that the first requisite of good citizenship is doing the duties that are near at hand. But of course this does not excuse a man from doing the other duties too. It is no excuse if a man neglects his political duties to say that he is a good husband and father; still less is it an excuse if he is guilty of corruption in politics or business to say that his home life is all right. He ought to add decency in home life to decency in politics, decency in public life.

So my plea is not that the homely duties are all-

sufficient, but that they are a necessary base upon which to build the superstructure of the higher life; our children should be trained to do the homely duties in the first place, and then in addition to have it in them so to carry themselves that collectively we may well and fitly perform the great and responsible tasks of American citizenship.

MESSAGE TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 26, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a preliminary report from the Inland Waterways Commission, which was appointed by me last March in response to a widespread interest and demand from the people. The basis of this demand lay in the general and admitted inability of the railroads to handle promptly the traffic of the country, and especially the crops of the previous fall.

This report is well worth your attention. It is thorough, conservative, sane, and just. It represents the mature judgment of a body of men exceptionally qualified, by personal experience and knowledge of conditions throughout the United States, to understand and discuss the great problem of how best to use our waterways in the interest of all the people. Unusual care has been taken to secure accuracy and balance of statement. If the report errs at all it is by over-conservatism. It contains findings or statements of fact, a number of specific

recommendations, and an account of inquiries still in progress, and it is based in part on statistics and other information contained in a voluminous appendix. The subject with which it deals is of critical importance both to the present and the future of our country.

Our river systems are better adapted to the needs of the people than those of any other country. In extent, distribution, navigability, and ease of use, they stand first. Yet the rivers of no other civilized country are so poorly developed, so little used, or play so small a part in the industrial life of the nation as those of the United States. In view of the use made of rivers elsewhere, the failure to use our own is astonishing, and no thoughtful man can believe that it will last. The accompanying report indicates clearly the reasons for it and the way to end it.

The Commission finds that it was unregulated railroad competition which prevented or destroyed the development of commerce on our inland waterways. The Mississippi, our greatest natural highway, is a case in point. At one time the traffic upon it was without a rival in any country. The report shows that commerce was driven from the Mississippi by the railroads. While production was limited, the railways, with their convenient terminals, gave quicker and more satisfactory service than the waterways. Later they prevented the restoration of river traffic by keeping down their rates along the rivers, recouping themselves by higher charges elsewhere. They also acquired water fronts

and terminals to an extent which made water competition impossible. Throughout the country the railways have secured such control of canals and steamboat lines that to-day inland waterway transportation is largely in their hands. This was natural, and doubtless inevitable, under the circumstances, but it should not be allowed to continue unless under careful Government regulation.

Comparatively little inland freight is carried by boat which is not carried a part of its journey by rail also. As the report shows, the successful development and use of our interstate waterways will require intelligent regulation of the relations between rail and water traffic. When this is done the railways and waterways will assist instead of injuring each other. Both will benefit, but the chief benefit will accrue to the people in general through quicker and cheaper transportation.

The report rests throughout on the fundamental conception that every waterway should be made to serve the people as largely and in as many different ways as possible. It is poor business to develop a river for navigation in such a way as to prevent its use for power, when by a little foresight it could be made to serve both purposes. We can not afford needlessly to sacrifice power to irrigation, or irrigation to domestic water supply, when by taking thought we may have all three. Every stream should be used to the utmost. No stream can be so used unless such use is planned for in advance. When such plans are made we shall find that, instead of interfer-

ing, one use can often be made to assist another. Each river system, from its headwaters in the forest to its mouth on the coast, is a single unit and should be treated as such. Navigation of the lower reaches of a stream can not be fully developed without the control of floods and low waters by storage and drainage. Navigable channels are directly concerned with the protection of source waters and with soil erosion, which takes the materials for bars and shoals from the richest portions of our farms. The uses of a stream for domestic and municipal water supply, for power, and in many cases for irrigation, must also be taken into full account.

The development of our inland waterways will have results far beyond the immediate gain to commerce. Deep channels along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes will have high value for the National defence. The use of water power will measurably relieve the drain upon our diminishing supplies of coal, and transportation by water instead of rail only will tend to conserve our iron. Forest protection, without which river improvement can not be permanent, will at the same time help to postpone the threatened timber famine, and will secure us against a total dearth of timber by providing for the perpetuation of the remaining woodlands. Irrigation will create the means of livelihood for millions of people, and supplies of pure water will powerfully promote the public health. If the policy of waterway improvement here recommended is carried out, it will affect for good every

citizen of the Republic. The National Government must play the leading part in securing the largest possible use of our waterways; other agencies can assist and should assist, but the work is essentially National in its scope.

The various uses of waterways are now dealt with by Bureaus scattered through four Federal Departments. At present, therefore, it is not possible to deal with a river system as a single problem. But the Commission here recommends a policy under which all the commercial and industrial uses of the waterways may be developed at the same time. To that end Congress should provide some administrative machinery for co-ordinating the work of the various Departments so far as it relates to waterways. Otherwise there will not only be delay, but the people as a whole will fail to get from our streams the benefits to which they are justly entitled.

The Commission recognizes that the cost of improving our inland waterways will be large, but far less than would be required to relieve the congestion of traffic by railway extension. The benefits of such improvement will be large also, and they will touch the daily life of the people at every point, uniting the interests of all the States and sections of our country. The cost and the benefits should be equitably distributed, by co-operation with the States and the communities, corporations, and individuals beneficially affected. I heartily concur in the Commission's recommendation to this end. Such co-operation should result in united effort in carry-

ing out the great duty of improving our inland waterways. While we delay our rivers remain unused, our traffic is periodically congested, and the material wealth and natural resources of the country related to waterways are being steadily absorbed by great monopolies.

Among these monopolies, as the report of the Commission points out, there is no other which threatens, or has ever threatened, such intolerable interference with the daily life of the people as the consolidation of companies controlling water power. I call your special attention to the attempt of the power corporations, through bills introduced at the present session, to escape from the possibility of Government regulation in the interests of the people. These bills are intended to enable the corporations to take possession in perpetuity of National forest lands for the purposes of their business, where and as they please, wholly without compensation to the public. Yet the effect of granting such privileges, taken together with rights already acquired under State laws, would be to give away properties of enormous value. Through lack of foresight we have formed the habit of granting without compensation extremely valuable rights amounting to monopolies on navigable streams and on the public domain. The repurchase at great expense of water rights thus carelessly given away without return has already begun in the East, and before long will be necessary in the West also. No rights involving water power should be granted to any corporations

in perpetuity, but only for a length of time sufficient to allow them to conduct their business profitably. A reasonable charge should of course be made for valuable rights and privileges which they obtain from the National Government. The values for which this charge is made will ultimately, through the natural growth and orderly development of our population and industries, reach enormous amounts. A fair share of the increase should be safeguarded for the benefit of the people, from whose labor it springs. The proceeds thus secured, after the cost of administration and improvement has been met, should naturally be devoted to the development of our inland waterways.

The report justly calls attention to the fact that hitherto our National policy has been one of almost unrestricted disposition and waste of natural resources, and emphasizes the fundamental necessity for conserving these resources upon which our present and future success as a nation primarily rests. Running water is a most valuable natural asset of the people, and there is urgent need for conserving it for navigation, for power, for irrigation, and for domestic and municipal supply.

The Commission was appointed to obtain information concerning our waterways as related to the general welfare. Much work was done, but more remains to be done before a plan for their development can be prepared in detail. We need additional information on the flow of our streams, the condition of channels, the amount and cost of water

traffic, the requirements for terminals, the area in each watershed which should be kept under forest, and the means of preventing soil waste and the consequent damage to our rivers. But it is neither necessary nor desirable to postpone the beginning of the work until all the facts are obtained. We have suffered heavily in the past from the lack of adequate transportation facilities, and unless a beginning is made promptly we shall suffer still more heavily in the future.

Being without funds or an expert staff, the Commission has confined itself to principles affecting the whole problem and the entire country. Its report is a plea, in the light of actual facts, for simplicity and directness in dealing with the great problem of our inland waterways in the interest of the people. It submits no specific plans or recommendations concerning even the most important projects. The first of these of course concerns the Mississippi and its tributaries, whose commercial development will directly affect half our people. The Mississippi should be made a loop of the sea and work upon it should be begun at the earliest possible moment. Only less important is the Atlantic inner passage, parts of which are already under way. The inner passages along the Gulf coast should be extended and connected with the Atlantic waters. The need for the developing of the Pacific coast rivers is not less pressing. Our people are united in support of the immediate adoption of a progressive policy of inland waterway development.

Hitherto our National policy of inland waterway development has been largely negative. No single agency has been responsible under the Congress for making the best use of our rivers, or for exercising foresight in their development. In the absence of a comprehensive plan, the only safe policy was one of repression and procrastination. Frequent changes of plan and piecemeal execution of projects have still further hampered improvement. A channel is no deeper than its shallowest reach, and to improve a river short of the point of effective navigability is a sheer waste of all it costs. In spite of large appropriations for their improvement, our rivers are less serviceable for interstate commerce to-day than they were half a century ago, and in spite of the vast increase in our population and commerce they are on the whole less used.

The first condition of successful development of our waterways is a definite and progressive policy. The second is a concrete general plan, prepared by the best experts available, covering every use to which our streams can be put. We shall not succeed until the responsibility for administering the policy and executing and extending the plan is definitely laid on one man or group of men who can be held accountable. Every portion of the general plan should consider and so far as practicable secure to the people the use of water for power, irrigation, and domestic supply as well as for navigation. No project should be begun until the funds necessary to complete it promptly are provided, and no plan

once under way should be changed except for grave reasons. Work once begun should be prosecuted steadily and vigorously to completion. We must make sure that projects are not undertaken except for sound business reasons, and that the best modern business methods are applied in executing them. The decision to undertake any project should rest on actual need ascertained by investigation and judgment of experts and on its relation to great river systems or to the general plan, and never on mere clamor.

The improvement of our inland waterways can and should be made to pay for itself so far as practicable from the incidental proceeds from water power and other uses. Navigation should of course be free. But the greatest return will come from the increased commerce, growth, and prosperity of our people. For this we have already waited too long. Adequate funds should be provided, by bond issue, if necessary, and the work should be delayed no longer. The development of our waterways and the conservation of our forests are the two most pressing physical needs of the country. They are interdependent, and they should be met vigorously, together, and at once. The questions of organization, powers, and appropriations are now before the Congress. There is urgent need for prompt and decisive action.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 26, 1908

TO THE DELEGATES TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS IN AMERICA ON THE WELFARE OF THE CHILD, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 10, 1908.

It is a great pleasure to greet you here this afternoon. I receive many societies here in the White House, many organizations of good men and women, striving to do all that in them lies for the betterment of our social and civic conditions. I am glad to see them. I believe in their work; I want to help them. But there is no other society which I am quite as glad to receive as this. This is the one body that I put even ahead of the veterans of the civil war; because when all is said it is the mother, and the mother only, who is a better citizen even than the soldier who fights for his country. The successful mother, the mother who does her part in rearing and training aright the boys and girls who are to be the men and women of the next generation, is of greater use to the community and occupies, if she only would realize it, a more honorable, as well as a more important position, than any successful man in it.

Now I want you to think of what I have just said; I never say what I don't absolutely mean, and I am accustomed to weighing my words. The good mother, the wise mother—you cannot really be a good mother if you are not a wise mother—is more important to the community than even the ablest man; her career is more worthy of honor and is

more useful to the community than the career of any man, however successful, can be.

Nothing in this life that is really worth having comes save at the cost of effort. I am glad when I meet men who have fought for their country, have served faithfully and well year after year for their country at the risk of their own lives; I respect them because they have had something hard to do and have done it well. When we look back to the civil war, the men whom we hold in honor are not the men who stayed at home, but the men who, whether they wore the blue or wore the grey, proved their truth by their endeavor; who dared risk all for "the great prize of death in battle," as one of our noblest poets has phrased it; who spent year after year at what brought them no money reward, at what might result in the utter impairment of the chance of their earning their livelihood, because it was their duty to render that service. In just the same way no life of self-indulgence, of mere vapid pleasure, can possibly, even in the one point of pleasure itself, yield as ample a reward as comes to the mother at the cost of self-denial, of effort, of suffering in childbirth, of the long, slow, patient, trying work of bringing up the children aright. No scheme of education, no social attitude, can be right unless it is based fundamentally upon the recognition of seeing that the girl is trained to understand the supreme dignity, the supreme usefulness of motherhood. Unless the average woman is a good wife and good mother, unless she bears a sufficient number of

children, so that the race shall increase, and not decrease, unless she brings up these children sound in soul and mind and body—unless this is true of the average woman, no brilliancy of genius, no material prosperity, no triumphs of science and industry, will avail to save the race from ruin and death. The mother is the one supreme asset of national life; she is more important by far than the successful statesman or business man or artist or scientist. There are exceptional women, there are exceptional men, who have other tasks to perform in addition to, not in substitution for, the task of motherhood and fatherhood, the task of providing for the home and of keeping it. But it is the tasks connected with the home that are the fundamental tasks of humanity. After all we can get along for the time being with an inferior quality of success in other lines, political, or business, or of any kind; because if there are failings in such matters we can make them good in the next generation; but if the mother does not do her duty, there will either be no next generation, or a next generation that is worse than none at all. In other words we can not as a Nation get along at all if we haven't the right kind of home life. Such a life is not only the supreme duty, but also the supreme reward of duty. Every rightly constituted woman or man, if she or he is worth her or his salt, must feel that there is no such ample reward to be found anywhere in life as the reward of children, the reward of a happy family life.

I abhor and condemn the man who is brutal,

thoughtless, careless, selfish, with women, and especially with the women of his own household. The birth pangs make all men the debtors of all women. The man is a poor creature who does not realize the infinite difficulty of the woman's task, who does not realize what is done by her who bears and rears the children; she who cannot even be sure until the children are well grown that any night will come when she can have it entirely to herself to sleep in. I abhor and condemn the man who fails to recognize all his obligations to the woman who does her duty. But the woman who shirks her duty as wife and mother is just as heartily to be condemned. We despise her as we despise and condemn the soldier who flinches in battle. A good woman, who does full duty, is sacred in our eyes; exactly as the brave and patriotic soldier is to be honored above all other men. But the woman who, whether from cowardice, from selfishness, from having a false and vacuous ideal, shirks her duty as wife and mother, earns the right to our contempt, just as does the man who, from any motive, fears to do his duty in battle when the country calls him. Because we so admire the good woman, the unselfish woman, the far-sighted woman, we have scant patience with her unworthy sister who fears to do her duty; exactly as, for the very reason that we respect a man who does his duty honestly and fairly in politics, who works hard at his business, who in time of national need does his duty as a soldier, we scorn his brother who idles when he should work, who is a bad husband, a bad

father, who does his duty ill in the family or towards the State, who fears to do the work of a soldier if the time comes when a soldier's work is needed. All honor to the man or woman who does duty, who renders service; and we can only honor him or her if the weight of our condemnation is felt by those who flinch from their duty.

You see, my guests, you have let yourselves in for a sermon. I have now almost come to the end. Before I do, however, I want to ask your assistance in two or three matters that are not immediately connected with the life in the family itself, but that are of vital consequence to the children. In the first place, in the schools, see that the school work is made as practical as possible. For the boys I want to see training provided that shall train them toward, and not away from, their life work; that will train them toward the farm or the shop, not away from it. With the girl, see that it is not made a matter of mirth that the girl who goes to college comes out unprepared to do any of the ordinary duties of womanhood. See, in other words, that the higher education which she should have—for she should have a right to just as much education, to just as high an education, as any man—see that with that goes the education that will fit her to do her fundamental work in the world. As regards our public schools I want to put in a special word in behalf of the right kind of playgrounds. No school is a good school if it has not a good playground. Help the children to play; and remember that you can often

help them most by leaving them entirely alone. I misread them if they themselves do not often know how to play better than we old folks can teach them. Remember that in the city especially it is an outrage to erect a school without erecting a playground to go with that school. It is the gravest kind of wrong, not only to the children but to the whole community, to turn out the boys and girls, especially in the congested part of the city, with no place to play in but the streets. There can be no more important reform than to provide adequate playgrounds; and a beginning should be made here in the District of Columbia.

You cannot have good citizens, good men and women of the next generation, if the boys and girls are worked in factories to the stunting of their moral, mental and physical growth. Wherever the National Government can reach, it should do away with the evils of child-labor, and I trust this will be done; but much must be done by the actions of the several State Legislatures; and do, each of you, in your several States, all that you can to secure the enactment, and then the enforcement, of laws that shall put a stop to the employment of children of tender age in doing what only grown up people should do.

The field of your activities is so very wide that it would be useless for me to attempt to enumerate the various subjects of which you will and ought to treat. You have come together to discuss the problems that more vitally than any others affect the real welfare, the well-being in the present and the well-being in the future, of this Nation and of

all nations. I wish you wisdom and good judgment. You must bring more than one quality to your task. No mother can do her duty in her own home without genuine tenderness of heart, genuine sentiment, but if she has only sentiment and only tenderness of heart she may through folly do more harm than another could through weakness. You must have the tenderness, you must have the sentiment; but woe to you and woe to the children who come after you if that is all that you have. With the sentiment, with the tenderness of heart, encourage the common sense that will enable you to correct the tenderness when it becomes weakness and injustice. In addition, cultivate what in the long run counts for more than intellect, for more than sentiment, and that is character, the sum of these qualities which really make up a strong, brave, tender man or woman. You cannot get along, you nor anyone else, if you develop your intellect to the point that you lose all other things, all other qualities. It does not make any difference how intelligent a woman is, if she looks upon her children only with intelligence. They are not going to care overmuch for her in return. Do not forget that love must come first; that love is what the family is based on; but don't do children, don't do grown people the dreadful injustice—through a love that is merely one form of weakness—of failing to make the child, or I might add, the man, behave itself or himself. A marriage should be a partnership where each of the two parties has his or her rights, where each should be more careful to do his or her

duty than to exact duty from the other partner; but where each must, in justice to the other partner no less than to himself or herself, exact the performance of duty by that other partner. (Applause.) Now do not take half of that statement only; take it all; let each of you do his or her duty first; put most stress on that; but in addition do not lessen your self-respect by submitting to wrong.

So with the children. A hard and unloving mother does infinite harm to her children; but she does no more harm than the loving but weak and foolish mother who does not train the children to behave with respect for the feelings of others, who permits them to be selfish or cruel or thoughtless. I remember reading a story, years ago, that greatly impressed me. It described how a worn, tired looking woman, was riding in the cars with her son, she sitting by the window. The son was a thoughtless boy, and soon began to whine and complain until he made his tired mother move away from and let him sit by the window. The observer, looking on, remarked that in the future there would be some unfortunate wife who would wonder "why men are so selfish," instead of placing the blame where it really ought to be placed—upon the lack of strength and character, the lack of wisdom, the lack of genuine love on the part of that woman in not bringing her boy up to be unselfish and thoughtful of others, so that he might live decently, in his own household, and do his work well in the world at large.

SPECIAL MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, MARCH 25, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I call your attention to certain measures as to which I think there should be action by the Congress before the close of the present session. There is ample time for their consideration. As regards most if not all of the matters, bills have been introduced into one or the other of the two Houses, and it is not too much to hope that action will be taken one way or the other on these bills at the present session. In my message at the opening of the present session, and, indeed, in various messages to previous Congresses, I have repeatedly suggested action on most of these measures.

Child labor should be prohibited throughout the Nation. At least a model child-labor bill should be passed for the District of Columbia. It is unfortunate that in the one place solely dependent upon Congress for its legislation there should be no law whatever to protect children by forbidding or regulating their labor.

I renew my recommendation for the immediate re-enactment of an employers' liability law, drawn to conform to the recent decision of the Supreme Court. Within the limits indicated by the court, the law should be made thorough and comprehensive, and the protection it affords should embrace every class of employee to which the power of the Congress can extend.

In addition to a liability law protecting the employees of common carriers, the Government should show its good faith by enacting a further law giving compensation to its own employees for injury or death incurred in its service. It is a reproach to us as a Nation that in both Federal and State legislation we have afforded less protection to public and private employees than any other industrial country of the world.

I also urge that action be taken along the line of the recommendations I have already made concerning injunctions in labor disputes. No temporary restraining order should be issued by any court without notice; and the petition for a permanent injunction upon which such temporary restraining order has been issued should be heard by the court issuing the same within a reasonable time—say, not to exceed a week or thereabouts from the date when the order was issued. It is worth considering whether it would not give greater popular confidence in the impartiality of sentences for contempt if it was required that the issue should be decided by another judge than the one issuing the injunction, except where the contempt is committed in the presence of the court, or in other case of urgency.

I again call attention to the urgent need of amending the interstate-commerce law and especially the anti-trust law along the lines indicated in my last message. The interstate-commerce law should be amended so as to give railroads the right to make traffic agreements, subject to these agreements being

approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission and published in all of their details. The Commission should also be given the power to make public and to pass upon the issuance of all securities hereafter issued by railroads doing an interstate-commerce business.

A law should be passed providing in effect that when a Federal court determines to place a common carrier or other public utility concern under the control of a receivership, the Attorney-General should have the right to nominate at least one of the receivers; or else in some other way the interests of the stockholders should be consulted, so that the management may not be wholly redelivered to the man or men the failure of whose policy may have necessitated the creation of the receivership. Receiverships should be used, not to operate roads, but as speedily as possible to pay their debts and return them to the proper owners.

In addition to the reasons I have already urged on your attention, it has now become important that there should be an amendment of the anti-trust law, because of the uncertainty as to how this law affects combinations among labor men and farmers, if the combination has any tendency to restrict interstate commerce. All of these combinations, if and while existing for and engaged in the promotion of innocent and proper purposes, should be recognized as legal. As I have repeatedly pointed out, this anti-trust law was a most unwisely drawn statute. It was perhaps inevitable that in feeling after the right remedy the first attempts to provide such should be crude; and it was absolutely imperative that some

legislation should be passed to control, in the interest of the public, the business use of the enormous aggregations of corporate wealth that are so marked a feature of the modern industrial world. But the present anti-trust law, in its construction and working, has exemplified only too well the kind of legislation which, under the guise of being thoroughgoing, is drawn up in such sweeping form as to become either ineffective or else mischievous.

In the modern industrial world combinations are absolutely necessary; they are necessary among business men, they are necessary among laboring men, they are becoming more and more necessary among farmers. Some of these combinations are among the most powerful of all instruments for wrongdoing. Others offer the only effective way of meeting actual business needs. It is mischievous and unwholesome to keep upon the statute books unmodified a law, like the anti-trust law, which, while in practice only partially effective against vicious combinations, has nevertheless in theory been construed so as sweepingly to prohibit every combination for the transaction of modern business. Some real good has resulted from this law. But the time has come when it is imperative to modify it. Such modification is urgently needed for the sake of the business men of the country, for the sake of the wage-workers, and for the sake of the farmers. The Congress can not afford to leave it on the statute books in its present shape.

It has now become uncertain how far this law may

involve all labor organizations and farmers' organizations, as well as all business organizations, in conflict with the law; or, if we secure literal compliance with the law, how far it may result in the destruction of the organizations necessary for the transaction of modern business, as well as of all labor organizations and farmers' organizations, completely check the wise movement for securing business co-operation among farmers, and put back half a century the progress of the movement for the betterment of labor. A bill has been presented in the Congress to remedy this situation. Some such measure as this bill is needed in the interest of all engaged in the industries which are essential to the country's well-being. I do not pretend to say the exact shape that the bill should take, and the suggestions I have to offer are tentative; and my views would apply equally to any other measure which would achieve the desired end. Bearing this in mind, I would suggest, merely tentatively, the following changes in the law:

The substantive part of the anti-trust law should remain as at present; that is, every contract in restraint of trade or commerce among the several State or with foreign nations should continue to be declared illegal; provided, however, that some proper governmental authority (such as the Commissioner of Corporations acting under the Secretary of Commerce and Labor) be allowed to pass on any such contracts. Probably the best method of providing for this would be to enact that any contract,

subject to the prohibition contained in the anti-trust law, into which it was desired to enter, might be filed with the Bureau of Corporations or other appropriate executive body. This would provide publicity. Within, say, sixty days of the filing—which period could be extended by the order of the Department whenever for any reason it did not give the Department sufficient time for a thorough examination—the executive department having power might forbid the contract, which would then become subject to the provisions of the anti-trust law, if at all in restraint of trade.

If no such prohibition was issued, the contract would then only be liable to attack on the ground that it constituted an unreasonable restraint of trade. Whenever the period of filing had passed without any such prohibition, the contracts or combinations could be disapproved or forbidden only after notice and hearing with a reasonable provision for summary review on appeal by the courts. Labor organizations, farmers' organizations, and other organizations not organized for purposes of profit, should be allowed to register under the law by giving the location of the head office, the charter and by-laws, and the names and addresses of their principal officers. In the interest of all these organizations—business, labor, and farmers' organizations alike—the present provision permitting the recovery of threefold damages should be abolished, and as a substitute therefor the right of recovery allowed for should be only the damages sustained by the plain-

tiff and the cost of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

The law should not affect pending suits; a short statute of limitations should be provided, so far as the past is concerned, not to exceed a year. Moreover, and even more in the interest of labor than of business combinations, all such suits brought for causes of action heretofore occurred should be brought only if the contract or combination complained of was unfair or unreasonable. It may be well to remember that all of the suits hitherto brought by the Government under the anti-trust law have been in cases where the combination or contract was in fact unfair, unreasonable, and against the public interest.

It is important that we should encourage trade agreements between employer and employee where they are just and fair. A strike is a clumsy weapon for righting wrongs done to labor, and we should extend, so far as possible, the process of conciliation and arbitration as a substitute for strikes. Moreover, violence, disorder, and coercion, when committed in connection with strikes, should be as promptly and as sternly repressed as when committed in any other connection. But strikes themselves are, and should be, recognized to be entirely legal. Combinations of workingmen have a peculiar reason for their existence. The very wealthy individual employer, and still more the very wealthy corporation, stand at an enormous advantage when compared to the individual workingman; and while there are

many cases where it may not be necessary for laborers to form a union, in many other cases it is indispensable, for otherwise the thousands of small units, the thousands of individual workingmen, will be left helpless in their dealings with the one big unit, the big individual or corporate employer.

Twenty-two years ago, by the act of June 29, 1886, trades unions were recognized by law, and the right of laboring people to combine for all lawful purposes was formally recognized, this right including combination for mutual protection and benefits, the regulation of wages, hours and conditions of labor, and the protection of the individual rights of the workmen in the prosecution of their trade or trades; and in the act of June 1, 1898, strikes were recognized as legal in the same provision that forbade participation in or instigation of force or violence against persons or property, or the attempt to prevent others from working by violence, threat, or intimidation. The business man must be protected in person and property, and so must the farmer and the wage-worker; and as regards all alike, the right of peaceful combination for all lawful purposes should be explicitly recognized.

The right of employers to combine and contract with one another and with their employees should be explicitly recognized; and so should the right of the employees to combine and to contract with one another and with the employers, and to seek peaceably to persuade others to accept their views, and to strike for the purpose of peaceably obtaining from

employers satisfactory terms for their labor. Nothing should be done to legalize either a blacklist or a boycott that would be illegal at common law; this being the type of boycott defined and condemned by the Anthracite Strike Commission.

The question of financial legislation is now receiving such attention in both Houses that we have a right to expect action before the close of the session. It is urgently necessary that there should be such action. Moreover, action should be taken to establish postal savings banks. These postal savings banks are imperatively needed for the benefit of the wage-workers and men of small means, and will be a valuable adjunct to our whole financial system.

The time has come when we should prepare for a revision of the tariff. This should be, and indeed must be, preceded by careful investigation. It is peculiarly the province of the Congress and not of the President, and indeed peculiarly the province of the House of Representatives, to originate a tariff bill and to determine upon its terms; and this I fully realize. Yet it seems to me that before the close of this session provision should be made for collecting full material which will enable the Congress elected next fall to act immediately after it comes into existence. This would necessitate some action by the Congress at its present session, perhaps in the shape of directing the proper committee to gather the necessary information, both through the committee itself and through Government agents who should report to the committee and should lay before

it the facts which would permit it to act with prompt and intelligent fairness. These Government agents, if it is not deemed wise to appoint individuals from outside the public service, might with advantage be members of the Executive Departments, designated by the President, on his own motion or on the request of the committee, to act with it.

I am of the opinion, however, that one change in the tariff could with advantage be made forthwith. Our forests need every protection, and one method of protecting them would be to put upon the free list wood pulp, with a corresponding reduction upon papers made from wood pulp, when they come from any country that does not put an export duty upon them.

Ample provision should be made for a permanent Waterways Commission, with whatever power is required to make it effective. The reasonable expectation of the people will not be met unless the Congress provides at this session for the beginning and prosecution of the actual work of waterway improvement and control. The Congress should recognize in fullest fashion the fact that the subject of the conservation of our natural resources, with which this Commission deals, is literally vital for the future of the Nation.

Numerous bills granting water-power rights on navigable streams have been introduced. None of them give the Government the right to make a reasonable charge for the valuable privileges so granted, in spite of the fact that these water-power privileges

are equivalent to many thousands of acres of the best coal lands for their production of power. Nor is any definite time limit set, as should always be done in such cases. I shall be obliged hereafter, in accordance with the policy stated in a recent message, to veto any water-power bill which does not provide for a time limit and for the right of the President or of the Secretary concerned to fix and collect such a charge as he may find to be just and reasonable in each case.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 25, 1908

TO THE DELEGATES TO CONVENTION OF INTERCOLLEGIATE LEAGUE, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 2, 1908

Mr. Jesup and Gentlemen:

I need hardly say how sincerely glad I am to meet this particular delegation. I welcome all of you; and the rest must not mind my saying a special word of greeting to the delegates from North Dakota—I was a North Dakota man myself at one time.

One of the valuable features of such a meeting as that of yesterday is that it brings together the young men of college training from different sections of the country to train them that at bottom our interests are the same. I shall say but a few words to you. You know what my beliefs are. You know that I feel that the college man has a special burden of responsibility upon him, because to him has been

given much and from him we have a right to expect much in return. Every college man gets from his college something he can not return to her—and no American citizen should ever receive something for which he can not give a fair equivalent—and you can not give a fair equivalent to your alma mater except in one way, and that is the manner in which you reflect credit upon her by what you do to add to the sum of the Nation's achievement. Of course there are certain elemental things to remember. Under the conditions of American life none of you can accomplish anything unless you come out imbued with a genuine democracy of spirit. I do not mean by that that you should have any demagogy about you. Just exactly as the parlor socialist type is without exception the least attractive type (not the most dangerous; of course there is a certain element of danger, but it is dangerous to a small degree and it is ridiculous to a very large degree) so it is peculiarly reprehensible for the college man to play the demagogue on the one hand, and on the other hand to become the mere tool and representative of those who make of Mammon their god; who would teach us that American life exists primarily not for the spiritual and moral betterment of our people, but that some people can make great fortunes and the bulk of the people share the crumbs that fall from the tables of those that make the great fortunes. We have a right to expect that you college men will be leaders against both of the thoroughly unhealthy types that tend to the demoralization of American

political life. After all, while there is an infinite variety of detail in the problems that generations successively face, the fundamental quality necessary in order that these problems may be faced are always the same. What we have to strive for is the betterment of social, political and civic conditions by bringing a little nearer the day when justice and truth and courage shall prevail; when each man shall deal justly by his brother as he is brought in contact with him; and when there shall be a measurable equality of opportunity for each man to show the stuff there is in him.

REPLY TO THE RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY THE NORTH CAROLINA PEACE SOCIETY AT THE WHITE HOUSE, THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1908

Gentlemen:

I am glad to learn that the North Carolina Peace Society has declared itself in favor of adequate armament as well as effective arbitration. There is no inconsistency in advocating both of these things at the present time; on the contrary, those who have the public welfare at heart fail in the performance of a part of their duty if they neglect to labor for both. Effectual arbitration should be desired by every far-sighted citizen; while under present conditions, not to provide adequate armament would be inexcusable on the part of those charged with the responsibility of preserving the rights of our people. The North Carolina Peace Society is to be congratulated on its position, and should be supported by all good citi-

zens in this effort for the general welfare; and great credit is due to the State of North Carolina for this action. The entire Nation and the cause of peace and justice throughout the world benefit by this new departure in promoting the general peace movement. The approaching Congress will certainly concentrate the thought of our people upon the fact that adequate armament necessitates an unquestionably superior naval power in the waters adjacent to our possessions, and that effective arbitration necessitates agreements between all the powers to respect each other's territory and sovereignty in said territory and to arbitrate all other questions. The acceptance of these facts as axiomatic must speed the day when our own country will be so armed as to minimize the chance of the wars that are invited by national weakness; while the establishment of an effective system of international arbitration will greatly diminish the chances of conflict among nations of approximately equal strength. The growth of the acceptance of the principle of international arbitration is necessarily slow; we should do all we can to hasten it; but as the world is at present, it is well to remember that the acceptance of this principle in any measure whatever depends exclusively upon the effective support it receives from the half dozen powers of great warlike strength. As things actually are at the present day, we are helpless to further the cause of peace and of effective international arbitration unless to just and peaceable intentions we add a stout heart and a strong arm—

and this means military and naval preparedness to a far greater degree than is at present the case.

With this purpose in view I am now negotiating arbitration treaties with the various nations of the world; and the Senate is ratifying them. I most earnestly hope that at the same time, as an even more important step toward peace, the present Congress will provide for four battleships and a sufficient number of colliers, and for the thorough fortification of Hawaii and Guantanamo.

I desire to thank you for this opportunity to support a genuine peace society in its efforts for international arbitration; for some peace societies merely jeopardize the national welfare, and are profoundly hostile to American national life, if they obstruct the Government in providing ample military and naval power to meet conditions in the actual world of to-day.

VETO MESSAGE RELATING TO EXTENSION OF TIME FOR CONSTRUCTION OF DAM ACROSS RAINY RIVER

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, House bill 15444, to extend the time for the construction of a dam across Rainy River.

This bill is returned for several reasons, some of which are general, others special. In this particular case permission to construct this dam was originally given, as being in Rainy Lake River, by the act of May 4, 1898 (30 Stat., 398), which limited the time

for commencing the work to one year and for completing it to three years from that date. Further extensions of time were granted as follows: For commencement, three years, and for completion, five years from May 4, 1900, by the act of that date (31 Stat., 167); for construction until May 4, 1907, by the act of June 28, 1902 (32 Stat., 485); for completion until July 1, 1908, by the act of February 25, 1905 (33 Stat., 814). The act of 1905 substituted the Rainy River Improvement Company for the original permittee. All rights given by these acts will expire July 1, 1908, unless the dam is completed on or before that date. In other words, the permittees will then have enjoyed for more than ten years the exclusive privilege of constructing this work, and have apparently failed to take advantage of it, for this bill would extend the time for three years longer to some unnamed day in July, 1911.

I do not believe that natural resources should be granted and held in an undeveloped condition either for speculative or other reasons. So far as I am aware, there are no assurances that the grantees are in any better condition promptly and properly to utilize this opportunity than they were at the time of the original act, ten years ago.

In all permits of this character the duty of declaring a forfeiture, after notice and hearing, for failure to begin or complete construction within the time limited by the permit, or for other breach of conditions, should be definitely imposed upon the proper administrative officer (in this case the Secretary of

War). There have been many unfortunate experiences resulting from conditional grants, which, though on their face apparently terminable for breach of condition, proved practically indeterminate because no one official was specifically given power to discover and declare the breach. The general statute regulating dams in navigable waters (act June 21, 1906, 34 Stat., 386), though representing an advance, yet leaves uncertain much that should be definitely expressed in each act permitting the construction of dams under this statute.

A definite time limit is one of these important omissions. The public must retain the control of the great waterways. It is essential that any permit to obstruct them for reasons and on conditions that seem good at the moment should be subject to revision when changed conditions demand. The right reserved by Congress to alter, amend, or repeal is based on this principle; but actual experience of what happens with indeterminate public-utility franchises proves that they are in the vast majority of cases practically perpetual. Each right should be issued to expire on a specified day without further legislative, administrative, or judicial action.

Every permit to construct a dam on a navigable stream should specifically recognize the right of the Government to fix a term for its duration and to impose such charge or charges as may be deemed necessary to protect the present and future interests of the United States in accordance with the act of June 21, 1906. There is sharp conflict of judgment

as to whether this general act empowers the War Department to fix a charge and set a time limit. All grounds for such doubt should be removed henceforth by the insertion in every act granting such a permit of words adequate to show that a time limit and a charge to be paid to the Government are among the interests of the United States which should be protected through conditions and stipulations to be imposed either by the War Department or, as I think would be preferable, by the Interior Department.

The provision for a charge is of vital importance. The navigability of every inland waterway, and of all connected and connectable inland waterways as a whole, should be improved for the purposes of interstate and foreign commerce upon a consistent unified plan by which each part should be made to help every other part. One means available for the improvement of navigation at a particular point on any river may be a dam creating a slack-water pool of sufficient depth. Such a dam may, in many cases, develop power of sufficient value to pay in whole or in part for the improvement of navigation at that point, and if there is any surplus it can be spent upon improvements at other points in accordance with the general plan. Since the Government can do by any proper agency what it can do directly, it is in principle immaterial whether this income to construct needed improvements is derived from works constructed directly by the Government or by a corporation acting under Federal authority, since Federal

authority is the one indispensable legal prerequisite for the work, though the charge to be paid to the Government for the power would of course differ in the two cases; indeed the charge would necessarily vary greatly, for where the improvement was both costly and of great benefit to the public, the charge would naturally be made low and the time limit long.

The income derivable from this source would materially aid in the complete improvement of our navigable waters, for which there is now such crying need. The Chief of Engineers of the Army reports that the bills pending at this session of Congress permit the construction of dams in navigable streams capable of developing over 1,300,000 horsepower. These rivers run every hour in the day and every day in the year. To develop this amount of power would, under average conditions, require about 25,000,000 tons of medium-quality coal every year. This natural wealth is the heritage of the people. I see no reason for giving it away, though there is every reason for not imposing conditions so burdensome as to prevent the utilization of the power. The authority to make, modify, or withhold grants manifestly implies both the power of inquiring into the grounds on which the grants are asked and the duty of administering the grants in the public interest.

We are now at the beginning of great development in water power. Its use through electrical transmission is entering more and more largely into every element of the daily life of the people. Already

the evils of monopoly are becoming manifest; already the experience of the past shows the necessity of caution in making unrestricted grants of this great power.

The present policy pursued in making these grants is unwise in giving away the property of the people in the flowing waters to individuals or organizations practically unknown and granting in perpetuity these valuable privileges in advance of the formulation of definite plans as to their use. In some cases the grantees apparently have little or no financial or other ability to utilize the gift, and have sought it merely because it could be had for the asking.

In place of the present haphazard policy of permanently alienating valuable public property we should substitute a definite policy along the following lines: First. There should be a limited or carefully guarded grant in the nature of an option or opportunity afforded within reasonable time for development of plans and for execution of the project.

Second. Such a grant of concession should be accompanied in the act making the grant by a provision expressly making it the duty of the designated official to annul the grant if the work is not begun or plans are not carried out in accordance with the authority granted.

Third. It should be the duty of some designated official to see to it that in approving the plans the maximum development of the navigation and power is assured, or at least that in making the plans these

may not be so developed as ultimately to interfere with the better utilization of the water or complete development of the power.

Fourth. There should be a license fee or charge which, though small or normal at the outset, can in the future be adjusted so as to secure a control in the interest of the public.

Fifth. Provision should be made for the termination of the grant or privilege at a definite time, leaving to future generations the power or authority to renew or extend the concession in accordance with the conditions which may prevail at that time.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 13, 1908.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, APRIL 14, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

Let me again urge upon the Congress the need of providing for four battleships of the best and most advanced type at this session. Prior to the recent Hague Conference it had been my hope that an agreement could be reached between the different nations to limit the increase of naval armaments, and especially to limit the size of warships. Under these circumstances I felt that the construction of one battleship a year would keep our Navy up to its then positive and relative strength. But actual experience showed not merely that it was impossible to obtain such an agreement for the limitation of armaments among the various leading powers, but that there

was no likelihood whatever of obtaining it in the future within any reasonable time. Coincidentally with this discovery occurred a radical change in the building of battleships among the great military nations—a change in accordance with which the most modern battleships have been or are being constructed, of a size and armament which doubles, or more probably trebles, their effectiveness. Every other great naval nation has or is building a number of ships of this kind; we have provided for but two, and therefore the balance of power is now inclining against us. Under these conditions, to provide for but one or two battleships a year is to provide that this Nation, instead of advancing, shall go backward in naval rank and relative power among the great nations. Such a course would be unwise for us if we fronted merely on one ocean, and it is doubly unwise when we front on two oceans. As Chief Executive of the Nation, and as Commander in Chief of the Navy, there is imposed upon me the solemn responsibility of advising the Congress of the measures vitally necessary to secure the peace and welfare of the Republic in the event of international complications which are even remotely possible. Having in view this solemn responsibility, I earnestly advise that the Congress now provide four battleships of the most advanced type. I can not too emphatically say that this is a measure of peace and not of war. I can conceive of no circumstances under which this Republic would enter into an aggressive war; most certainly, under no circum-

stances would it enter into an aggressive war to extend its territory or in any other manner seek material aggrandizement. I advocate that the United States build a navy commensurate with its powers and its needs, because I feel that such a navy will be the surest guaranty and safeguard of peace. We are not a military Nation. Our Army is so small as to present an almost absurd contrast to our size, and is properly treated as little more than a nucleus for organization in case of serious war. Yet we are a rich Nation, and undefended wealth invites aggression. The very liberty of individual speech and action, which we so prize and guard, renders it possible that at times unexpected causes of friction with foreign powers may suddenly develop. At this moment we are negotiating arbitration treaties with all the other great powers that are willing to enter into them. These arbitration treaties have a special usefulness because in the event of some sudden disagreement they render it morally incumbent upon both nations to seek first to reach an agreement through arbitration, and at least secure a breathing space during which the cool judgment of the two nations involved may get the upper hand over any momentary burst of anger. These arbitration treaties are entered into not only with the hope of preventing wrong-doing by others against us, but also as a proof that we have no intention of doing wrong ourselves.

Yet it is idle to assume, and from the standpoint of National interest and honor it is mischievous folly

for any statesman to assume that this world has yet reached the stage, or has come within measurable distance of the stage, when a proud nation, jealous of its honor and conscious of its great mission in the world, can be content to rely for peace upon the forbearance of other powers. It would be equally foolish to rely upon each of them possessing at all times and under all circumstances and provocations an altruistic regard for the rights of others. Those who hold this view are blind indeed to all that has gone on before their eyes in the world at large. They are blind to what has happened in China, in Turkey, in the Spanish possessions, in Central and South Africa, during the last dozen years. For centuries China has cultivated the very spirit which our own peace-at-any-price men wish this country to adopt. For centuries China has refused to provide military forces and has treated the career of the soldier as inferior in honor and regard to the career of the merchant or of the man of letters. There never has been so large an empire which for so long a time has so resolutely proceeded on the theory of doing away with what is called "militarism." Whether the result has been happy in internal affairs I need not discuss; all the advanced reformers and far-sighted patriots in the Chinese Empire are at present seeking (I may add, with our hearty good will) for a radical and far-reaching reform in internal affairs. In external affairs the policy has resulted in various other nations now holding large portions of Chinese territory, while there is a very acute fear

in China lest the Empire, because of its defencelessness, be exposed to absolute dismemberment, and its well-wishers are able to help it only in a small measure, because no nation can help any other unless that other can help itself.

The State Department is continually appealed to to interfere on behalf of peoples and nationalities who insist that they are suffering from oppression; now Jews in one country, now Christians in another; now black men said to be oppressed by white men in Africa. Armenians, Koreans, Finns, Poles, representatives of all appeal at times to this Government. All of this oppression is alleged to exist in time of profound peace, and frequently, although by no means always, it is alleged to occur at the hands of people who are not very formidable in a military sense. In some cases the accusations of oppression and wrong-doing are doubtless ill-founded. In others they are well founded, and in certain cases the most appalling loss of life is shown to have occurred, accompanied with frightful cruelty. It is not our province to decide which side has been right and which has been wrong in all or any of these controversies. I am merely referring to the loss of life. It is probably a conservative statement to say that within the last twelve years, at periods of profound peace, and not as the result of war, massacres and butcheries have occurred in which more lives of men, women, and children have been lost than in any single great war since the close of the Napoleonic struggles. To any public man who knows

of the complaints continually made to the State Department there is an element of grim tragedy in the claim that the time has gone by when weak nations or peoples can be oppressed by those that are stronger without arousing effective protest from other strong interests. Events still fresh in the mind of every thinking man show that neither arbitration nor any other device can as yet be invoked to prevent the gravest and most terrible wrong-doing to peoples who are either few in numbers or who, if numerous, have lost the first and most important of national virtues—the capacity for self-defence.

When a nation is so happily situated as is ours—that is, when it has no reason to fear or to be feared by its land neighbors—the fleet is all the more necessary for the preservation of peace. Great Britain has been saved by its fleet from the necessity of facing one of the two alternatives—of submission to conquest by a foreign power or of itself becoming a great military power. The United States can hope for a permanent career of peace on only one condition, and that is, on condition of building and maintaining a first-class navy; and the step to be taken toward this end at this time is to provide for the building of four additional battleships. I earnestly wish that the Congress would pass the measures for which I have asked for strengthening and rendering more efficient the Army as well as the Navy; all of these measures as affecting every branch and detail of both services are sorely needed, and it would be the part of farsighted wisdom to enact them all into

laws, but the most vital and immediate need is that of the four battleships.

To carry out this policy is but to act in the spirit of George Washington; is but to continue the policies which he outlined when he said, "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. . . .

"I can not recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties toward us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 14, 1908.

TO THE TULSA (OKLAHOMA) COMMERCIAL CLUB, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 17, 1908

Gentlemen:

It is a great pleasure to greet you here. I take a peculiar interest in your great State; and it is a great State, and it is going to be a much greater State. I endeavor to find out what is really for your interest and then to do it. I went over very carefully with your representatives this question of the removal of the restrictions and came to the conclusion that substantial justice would be done to both the Indian and the white man by keeping for the Indian a homestead of forty acres of good agricultural land and allowing him to alienate the remainder. I do not think it is to his advantage or to yours that there should be large tracts of non-taxable and non-improved land. I will help you to see that you get your rights. Now, I want you to help me see that the Indian gets his rights. I will help you in any legitimate way; and I will do my best to try to see that the Indian is not kept as an obstruction to the growth of the State. But you know as well as I do that there are plenty of Indians who are not yet as well able to take care of themselves as the rest of you extremely able gentlemen from Oklahoma. You can not afford, in your own interest, to do less than justice to the Indian, and I want each of you to make it your work to see that your own State courts, your State officials, carefully preserve the rights of the Indian, and that you try to give him the chance to

which he is entitled. I will do all I can to secure him that chance. After all, gentlemen, he is the oldest American of all of us; so give him a fair show; give him a chance. I have no sympathy with that maudlin sentimentalism about the Indian which is most intense the farther you get away from where the Indian is. All I want is that you shall not only give to the very able, very advanced, Indian the same show that you give the white man; but that the Indian who needs to be brought along for a decade or two, needs to be educated and trained until he can stand entirely on his own feet, shall have your help.

TO THE DELEGATES TO THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL FLORENCE CRITTENTON MISSION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 27, 1908

I wish you Godspeed in the work you are doing. Of course it is both easy and ruinous to approach such a work in a spirit of mawkish sentimentality; but this is a pitfall which I know you avoid. You are stretching a hand to those who, of all others, require in their mortal need just the help that you give them. Of course you can not help the incurably bad—those who go astray because they are vicious, who are naturally foul and evil; and you can not help any one by blinking the fact that sin is sin, and the stain indelible on earth; but you can and do help those whom it is possible to raise.

The things that are vital in our lives are not the things that we public men ordinarily discuss and

treat of, but the intimate things of the home, the things that have to do with the character of the individual man or woman. In trying to save the woman who can be saved you are also teaching a much-needed lesson to the man; for surely it is his duty to be clean and decent of life, just as it is his duty to be brave and strong. We should despise the vicious man, whatever form his viciousness takes, even more than the coward and the weakling; though, conversely, we should never cease insisting upon the fact that no good man can make his goodness amount to anything unless he is strong and brave also, unless he possesses both moral courage and physical courage, for both are necessary. Surely the brave man of clear sight and upright soul must abhor that other man who is brutal toward women, who fails to show them respect and reverence, who fails to be gentle and loyal in his dealings with them.

Now, I am better able to preach to men than to women because I know men better and I think they need the teaching more; for I respect the woman who is a good wife and mother, and who shirks none of her duties in either capacity, more than I do any man.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, APRIL 27, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In my message to the Congress of March 25, 1908, I outlined certain measures which I believe the majority of our countrymen desire to have enacted

into law at this time. These measures do not represent by any means all that I would like to see done if I thought it possible, but they do represent what I believe can now be done if an earnest effort toward this end is made.

Since I wrote this message an employers' liability law has been enacted which, it is true comes short of what ought to have been done, but which does represent a real advance. Apparently there is good ground to hope that there will be further legislation providing for recompensing all employees who suffer injury while engaged in the public service; that there will be a child-labor law enacted for the District of Columbia; that the Waterways Commission will be continued with sufficient financial support to increase the effectiveness of its preparatory work; that steps will be taken to provide for such investigation into tariff conditions, by the appropriate committee of the House of Representatives and by Government experts in the Executive service, as will secure the full information necessary for immediate action in revising the tariff at the hands of the Congress elected next fall; and finally, that financial legislation will be enacted providing for temporary measures for meeting any trouble that may arise in the next year or two, and for a commission of experts who shall thoroughly investigate the whole matter, both here and in the great commercial countries abroad, so as to be able to recommend legislation which will put our financial system on an efficient and permanent basis. It is much to be wished that one feature

of the financial legislation of this session should be the establishment of postal savings banks. Ample appropriation should be made to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to carry out the very important feature of the Hepburn law which gives to the Commission supervision and control over the accounting systems of the railways. Failure to provide means which will enable the Commission to examine the books of the railways would amount to an attack on the law at its most vital point, and would benefit, as nothing else could benefit, those railways which are corruptly or incompetently managed. Forest reserves should be established throughout the Appalachian Mountain region wherever it can be shown that they will have a direct and real connection with the conservation and improvement of navigable rivers.

There seems, however, much doubt about two of the measures I have recommended: the measure to do away with abuse of the power of injunction and the measure or group of measures to strengthen and render both more efficient and more wise the control by the National Government over the great corporations doing an interstate business.

First, as to the power of injunction and of punishment for contempt. In contempt cases, save where immediate action is imperative, the trial should be before another judge. As regards injunctions, some such legislation as that I have previously recommended should be enacted. They are blind who fail to realize the extreme bitterness caused

among large bodies of worthy citizens by the use that has been repeatedly made of the power of injunction in labor disputes. Those in whose judgment we have the most right to trust are of the opinion that while much of the complaint against the use of the injunction is unwarranted, yet that it is unquestionably true that in a number of cases this power has been used to the grave injury of the rights of laboring men. I ask that it be limited in some such way as that I have already pointed out in my previous messages, for the very reason that I do not wish to see an embittered effort made to destroy it. It is unwise stubbornly to refuse to provide against a repetition of the abuses which have caused the present unrest. In a democracy like ours it is idle to expect permanently to thwart the determination of the great body of our citizens. It may be and often is the highest duty of a court, a legislature, or an executive, to resist and defy a gust of popular passion; and most certainly no public servant, whatever may be the consequences to himself, should yield to what he thinks wrong. But in a question which is emphatically one of public policy, the policy which the public demands is sure in the end to be adopted; and a persistent refusal to grant to a large portion of our people what is right is only too apt in the end to result in causing such irritation that when the right is obtained it is obtained in the course of a movement so ill considered and violent as to be accompanied by much that is wrong. The process of injunction in labor disputes, as well as

where State laws are involved, should be used sparingly, and only when there is the clearest necessity for it; but it is one so necessary to the efficient performance of duty by the court on behalf of the Nation that it is in the highest degree to be regretted that it should be liable to reckless use; for this reckless use tends to make honest men desire so to hamper its execution as to destroy its usefulness.

Every far-sighted patriot should protest first of all against the growth in this country of that evil thing which is called "class consciousness." The demagogue, the sinister or foolish socialist visionary who strives to arouse this feeling of class consciousness in our working people, does a foul and evil thing; for he is no true American, he is no self-respecting citizen of this Republic, he forfeits his right to stand with manly self-reliance on a footing of entire equality with all other citizens, who bows to envy and greed, who erects the doctrine of class hatred into a shibboleth, who substitutes loyalty to men of a particular status, whether rich or poor, for loyalty to those eternal and immutable principles of righteousness which bid us treat each man on his worth as a man without regard to his wealth or his poverty. But evil though the influence of these demagogues and visionaries is, it is no worse in its consequences than the influence exercised by the man of great wealth or the man of power and position in the industrial world, who by his lack of sympathy with, and lack of understanding of, still more by any exhibition of uncompromising hostility

to, the millions of our working people, tends to unite them against their fellow-Americans who are better off in this world's goods. It is a bad thing to teach our working people that men of means, that men who have the largest proportion of the substantial comforts of life, are necessarily greedy, grasping, and cold-hearted, and that they unjustly demand and appropriate more than their share of the substance of the many. Stern condemnation should be visited upon demagogue and visionary who teach this untruth, and even sterner upon those capitalists who are in truth grasping and greedy and brutally disregardful of the rights of others, and who by their actions teach the dreadful lesson far more effectively than any mere preacher of unrest. A "class grievance" left too long without remedy breeds "class consciousness" and therefore class resentment.

The strengthening of the anti-trust law is demanded upon both moral and economic grounds. Our purpose in strengthening it is to secure more effective control by the National Government over the business use of the vast masses of individual, and especially of corporate, wealth, which at the present time monopolize the most of the interstate business of the country; and we believe the control can best be exercised by preventing the growth of abuses, rather than merely by trying to destroy them when they have already grown. In the highest sense of the word this movement for thorough control of the business use of this great wealth is conservative. We are trying to steer a safe middle course,

which alone can save us from a plutocratic class government on the one hand, or a socialistic class government on the other, either of which would be fraught with disaster to our free institutions, State and National. We are trying to avoid alike the evils which would flow from Government ownership of the public utilities by which interstate commerce is chiefly carried on, and the evils which flow from the riot and chaos of unrestricted individualism. There is grave danger to our free institutions in the corrupting influence exercised by great wealth suddenly concentrated in the hands of the few. We should in sane manner try to remedy this danger, in spite of the sullen opposition of these few very powerful men, and with the full purpose to protect them in all their rights at the very time that we require them to deal rightfully with others.

When with steam and electricity modern business conditions went through the astounding revolution which in this country began over half a century ago, there was at first much hesitation as to what particular governmental agency should be used to grapple with the new conditions. At almost the same time, about twenty years since, the effort was made to control combinations by regulating them through the Interstate Commerce Commission, and to abolish them by means of the anti-trust act; the two remedies therefore being in part mutually incompatible. The interstate-commerce law has produced admirable results, especially since it was strengthened by the Hepburn law two years ago. The anti-trust

law, though it worked some good, because anything is better than anarchy and complete absence of regulation, nevertheless has proved in many respects not merely inadequate but mischievous. Twenty years ago the misuse of corporate power had produced almost every conceivable form of abuse, and had worked the gravest injury to business morality and the public conscience. For a long time Federal regulation of interstate commerce had been purely negative, the National judiciary merely acting in isolated cases to restrain the State from exercising a power which it was clearly unconstitutional as well as unwise for them to exercise, but which nevertheless the National Government itself failed to exercise. Thus the corporations monopolizing commerce made the law for themselves, State power and common law being inadequate to accomplish any effective regulation, and the National power not yet having been put forth. The result was mischievous in the extreme, and only short-sighted and utter failure to appreciate the grossness of the evils to which the lack of regulation gave rise, can excuse the well-meaning persons who now desire to abolish the anti-trust law outright, or to amend it by simply condemning "unreasonable" combinations.

Power should unquestionably be lodged somewhere in the Executive branch of the Government to permit combinations which will further the public interest; but it must always be remembered that, as regards the great and wealthy combinations through which most of the interstate business of to-day is

done, the burden of proof should be on them to show that they have a right to exist. No judicial tribunal has the knowledge or the experience to determine in the first place whether a given combination is advisable or necessary in the interest of the public. Some body, whether a commission, or a bureau under the Department of Commerce and Labor, should be given this power. My personal belief is that ultimately we shall have to adopt a National incorporation law, though I am well aware that this may be impossible at present. Over the actions of the Executive body in which the power is placed the courts should possess merely a power of review analogous to that obtaining in connection with the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission at present. To confer this power would not be a leap in the dark; it would merely be to carry still further the theory of effective Governmental control of corporations which was responsible for the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission and for the enlargement of its powers, and for the creation of the Bureau of Corporations. The interstate commerce legislation has worked admirably. It has benefited the public; it has benefited honestly managed and wisely conducted railroads; and in spite of the fact that the business of the country has enormously increased, the value of this Federal legislation has been shown by the way in which it has enabled the Federal Government to correct the most pronounced of the great and varied abuses which existed in the business world twenty years

ago—while the many abuses that still remain emphasize the need of further and more thoroughgoing legislation. Similarly, the Bureau of Corporations has amply justified its creation. In other words, it is clear that the principles employed to remedy the great evils in the business world have worked well, and they can now be employed to correct the evils that further commercial growth has brought more prominently to the surface. The powers and scope of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and of any similar body, such as the Bureau of Corporations, which has to deal with the matter in hand, should be greatly enlarged so as to meet the requirements of the present day.

The decisions of the Supreme Court in the Minnesota and North Carolina cases illustrate how impossible is a dual control of National commerce. The States can not control it. All they can do is to control intrastate commerce, and this now forms but a small fraction of the commerce carried by the railroads through each State. Actual experience has shown that the effort at State control is sure to be nullified in one way or another sooner or later. The Nation alone can act with effectiveness and wisdom; it should have the control both of the business and of the agent by which the business is done, for any attempt to separate this control must result in grotesque absurdity. This means that we must rely upon National legislation to prevent the commercial abuses that now exist and the others that are sure to arise unless some efficient Governmental body has

adequate power of control over them. At present the failure of the Congress to utilize and exercise the great powers conferred upon it as regards interstate commerce leaves this commerce to be regulated, not by the State nor yet by the Congress, but by the occasional and necessarily inadequate and one-sided action of the Federal judiciary. However upright and able a court is, it can not act constructively; it can only act negatively or destructively, as an agency of government; and this means that the courts are and must always be unable to deal effectively with a problem like the present, which requires constructive action. A court can decide what is faulty, but it has no power to make better what it thus finds to be faulty. There should be an efficient Executive body created with power enough to correct abuses and scope enough to work out the complex problems that this great country has developed. It is not sufficient objection to say that such a body may be guilty of unwisdom or of abuses. Any Governmental body, whether a court or a commission, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, if given power enough to enable it to do effective work for good, must also inevitably receive power enough to make it possibly effective for evil.

Therefore, it is clear that (unless a National incorporation law can be forthwith enacted) some body or bodies in the Executive service should be given power to pass upon any combination or agreement in relation to interstate commerce, and every such combination or agreement not thus approved should be

treated as in violation of law and prosecuted accordingly. The issuance of the securities of any combination doing interstate business should be under the supervision of the National Government.

A strong effort has been made to have labor organizations completely exempted from any of the operations of this law, whether or not their acts are in restraint of trade. Such exceptions would in all probability make the bill unconstitutional, and the Legislature has no more right to pass a bill without regard to whether it is constitutional than the courts have lightly to declare unconstitutional a law which the Legislature has solemnly enacted. The responsibility is as great on the one side as on the other, and an abuse of power by the Legislature in one direction is equally to be condemned with an abuse of power by the courts in the other direction. It is not possible wholly to except labor organizations from the workings of this law, and they who insist upon totally excepting them are merely providing that their status shall be kept wholly unchanged, and that they shall continue to be exposed to the action which they now dread. Obviously, an organization not formed for profit should not be required to furnish statistics in any way as complete as those furnished by organizations for profit. Moreover, so far as labor is engaged in production only, its claims to be exempted from the anti-trust law are sound. This would substantially cover the right of laborers to combine, to strike peaceably, and to enter into trade agreements with the employers. But when labor

undertakes in a wrongful manner to prevent the distribution and sale of the products of labor, as by certain forms of the boycott, it has left the field of production, and its action may plainly be in restraint of interstate trade, and must necessarily be subject to inquiry, exactly as in the case of any other combination for the same purpose, so as to determine whether such action is contrary to sound public policy. The heartiest encouragement should be given to the wageworkers to form labor unions and to enter into agreements with their employers; and their right to strike, so long as they act peaceably, must be preserved. But we should sanction neither a boycott nor a blacklist which would be illegal at common law.

The measures I advocate are in the interest both of decent corporations and of law-abiding labor unions. They are, moreover, pre-eminently in the interest of the public, for in my judgment the American people have definitely made up their minds that the days of the reign of the great law-defying and law-evading corporations are over, and that from this time on the mighty organizations of capital necessary for the transaction of business under modern conditions, while encouraged so long as they act honestly and in the interest of the general public, are to be subjected to careful supervision and regulation of a kind so effective as to insure their acting in the interest of the people as a whole.

Allegations are often made to the effect that there is no real need for these laws looking to the more

effective control of the great corporations, upon the ground that they will do their work well without such control. I call your attention to the accompanying copy of a report just submitted by Mr. Nathan Matthews, Chairman of the Finance Commission, to the Mayor and City Council of Boston, relating to certain evil practices of various corporations which have been bidders for furnishing to the city iron and steel. This report shows that there have been extensive combinations formed among the various corporations which have business with the city of Boston, including, for instance, a carefully planned combination embracing practically all the firms and corporations engaged in structural steel work in New England. This combination included substantially all the local concerns, and many of the largest corporations in the United States, engaged in manufacturing or furnishing structural steel for use in any part of New England; it affected the States, the cities and towns, the railroads and street railways, and generally all persons having occasion to use iron or steel for any purpose in that section of the country. As regards the city of Boston, the combination resulted in parceling out the work by collusive bids, plainly dishonest, and supported by false affirmations. In its conclusion, the Commission recommends as follows:

"Comment on the moral meaning of these methods and transactions would seem superfluous; but as they were defended at the public hearings of the Commission and asserted to be common and entirely

proper incidents of business life, and as these practices have been freely resorted to by some of the largest industrial corporations that the world has ever known, the Commission deems it proper to record its own opinion.

"The Commission dislikes to believe that these practices are, as alleged, established by the general custom of the business community; and this defence itself, if unchallenged, amounts to a grave accusation against the honesty of present business methods.

"To answer an invitation for public or private work by sending in what purports to be genuine bids, but what in reality are collusive figures purposely made higher than the bid which is known will be submitted by one of the supposed competitors is an act of plain dishonesty.

"To support these misrepresentations by false affirmations in writing that the bids are submitted in good faith, and without fraud, collusion, or connection with any other bidder, is a positive and deliberate fraud; the successful bidder in the competition is guilty of obtaining money by false pretences; and the others have made themselves parties to a conspiracy clearly unlawful at the common law.

"Where, as in the case of the 'Boston Agreement,' a number of the most important manufacturers and dealers in structural steel in this country, including the American Bridge Company, one of the constituent members of the United States Steel Corporation, have combined together for the purpose of raising prices by means of collusive bids and false

representations, their conduct is not only repugnant to common honesty, but is plainly obnoxious to the Federal statute known as the Sherman or anti-trust law.

"The Commission believes that an example should be made of these men, and that the members of the 'Boston Agreement,' or at least all those who, in October and November, 1905, entered in the fraudulent competitions for the Cove Street draw span and the Brookline Street Bridge, should be brought before a Federal grand jury for violation of the act of Congress of July 2, 1890. The three years' limitation for participation in these transactions has not yet elapsed, and the evidence obtained by the Commission is so complete that there should be no difficulty in the Government's securing a conviction in this case."

I have submitted this report to the Department of Justice for thorough investigation and for action if action shall prove practicable.

Surely such a state of affairs as that above set forth emphasizes the need of further Federal legislation, not merely because of the material benefits such legislation will secure, but above all because this Federal action should be part, and a large part, of the campaign to waken our people as a whole to a lively and effective condemnation of the low standard of morality implied in such conduct on the part of great business concerns. The first duty of every man is to provide a livelihood for himself and for those dependent upon him; it is from every stand-

point desirable that each of our citizens should endeavor by hard work and honorable methods to secure for him and his such a competence as will carry with it the opportunity to enjoy in reasonable fashion the comforts and refinements of life; and, furthermore, the man of great business ability who obtains a fortune in upright fashion inevitably in so doing confers a benefit upon the community as a whole and is entitled to reward, to respect, and to admiration. But among the many kinds of evil, social, industrial, and political, which it is our duty as a nation sternly to combat, there is none at the same time more base and more dangerous than the greed which treats the plain and simple rules of honesty with cynical contempt if they interfere with making a profit; and as a Nation we can not be held guiltless if we condone the action. The man who preaches hatred of wealth honestly acquired, who inculcates envy and jealousy and slanderous ill-will toward those of his fellows who by thrift, energy and industry have become men of means, is a menace to the community. But his counterpart in evil is to be found in that particular kind of multimillionaire who is almost the least enviable, and is certainly one of the least admirable, of all our citizens; a man of whom it has been well said that his face has grown hard and cruel while his body has grown soft; whose son is a fool and his daughter a foreign princess; whose nominal pleasures are at best those of a tasteless and extravagant luxury, and whose real delight,

whose real life work, is the accumulation and use of power in its most sordid and least elevating form. In the chaos of an absolutely unrestricted commercial individualism under modern conditions, this is a type that becomes prominent as inevitably as the marauder baron became prominent in the physical chaos of the dark ages. We are striving for legislation to minimize the abuses which give this type its flourishing prominence, partly for the sake of what can be accomplished by the legislation itself, and partly because the legislation marks our participation in a great and stern moral movement to bring our ideals and our conduct into measurable accord.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 27, 1908

TO MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN WORKERS, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, MAY 1, 1908

Ladies:

It is a very real pleasure to greet you to-day. I often meet delegations here in the East Room of the White House; all of them I am very glad to see; and I can say with entire truth that there is none that comes here which I could be more pleased to see than this. I would not be fit to hold the position that I do hold, I would not be a good American, if I did not take a peculiar interest in exactly the kind of club which is represented here to-day. I think it is highly typical of our people that we should be able to gather together in organizations for social and in-

tellectual betterment; and interested though I am in such organizations of men, I am even more interested when they are managed by and controlled in the interests of women, and particularly working women, working girls. If I were asked to point out what in my judgment was the fundamental difference between the United States and any European country, even the most advanced, I should say that the fundamental difference in our favor was the different attitude taken here toward women; the greater chance that the woman has for combining with a life of duty the chance of self-improvement. Of course in any movement for betterment there are always dangers. I do not know very much about women's clubs, girls' clubs, but I do know about men's clubs; and thoroughly though I believe in them, I now and then meet a man who mistakes the means for the end, whose life is led as an adjunct to the club, instead of the club being an adjunct to his life. I suppose there are occasional instances of this kind in the women's clubs. In any movement it is always a little difficult to combine the two principles of doing your work well, and yet of having as good a time as is compatible with doing your work. There are always a certain number of people who never try to be anything but drudges; and a certain number of others who make having a good time the be-all and end-all of life; and I think these working-women's clubs strike the happy medium as well as any organizations that I know. I believe in them with all my heart; I am glad to see you as

representatives of them here to-day, and I wish you all possible good fortune and success in the future.

LETTER TO HON. J. ADAM BEDE CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF WATER-POWERS

May 7, 1908.

My Dear Mr. Bede:

While I stand absolutely for the policy with regard to the development of water-powers announced in my message of February 26th because I believe that policy is just and in the interests of the whole people of the United States, still I am anxious that no injustice should be caused in this particular case in Minnesota which you have brought to my attention. At the time of my veto of the Rainy River Dam bill, I was not in possession of the information which has since come to me from you, that the dam is already about half completed under previous grants by Congress. That fact does not by any means remove Rainy River Dam from the sphere of the new method of protecting the interests of the public, but it does warrant special consideration of the promoters of that project, because they have already expended part of their money under the old policy. There is, I believe, a simple way by which the interests of the people at large and of the Rainy River Improvement Company can be met at the same time, and that without in any degree sacrificing the policy for which I stand, or establishing any unfortunate precedents in connection with it.

There are two provisions without which I will

not approve any bill granting the rights to develop water-power on a navigable stream. The first is a definite limitation in time. That limitation can be made long or short as the circumstances in each case require. In the present instance I suggest a term of ninety-nine years, which, I doubt not, will be abundantly sufficient for every need of the Rainy River Improvement Company. The second provision relates to a charge for the benefits obtained by any company as the result of the permission granted to it by the United States. In view of the fact that the Rainy River Dam is reported to me as half built, I suggest that a specific provision be inserted in the bill fixing the time when the Secretary of War may begin to collect a charge at twenty-five years from the date of the passage of the bill. Thus the Rainy River Improvement Company will be relieved of an immediate charge which it had not anticipated, and at the same time the future interests of the people of the United States will be protected. If these two provisions can be inserted in the bill as passed, I shall be very glad indeed to sign it.

In reference to the claim that it is the State and not the Nation which has power in connection with these waters, I would like to call your attention to the fact that as soon as the persons privately interested in these improvements get that position acknowledged, they are absolutely certain to take the further position that the State itself has no power in the matter. For example, the Illinois Legislature has been for twelve months fighting

about measures for the improvement of the Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers, and the development of water-powers to pay for the improvement; the private citizens who desire to use the water in their pecuniary interest maintaining that the waters are the property of the riparian owners and can not be used by the State. It seems to me clear that the United States Government in cases where it can make or withhold a grant according as it chooses can impose in connection with any grant it actually gives such conditions as may be necessary for the protection of the public. I do not see how there can be any question that it has the right to make the grant only for a limited time. Indeed, I can not imagine any argument being made against this proposition. As for the imposing of a charge, I can conceive of an argument being made that this can not be done. Nevertheless, it also seems to me absolutely clear that we have the right to do it. In my judgment it is not a case as to whether the Constitution authorizes the action, but as to whether the National Government does or does not choose to take the position that as a grant of this kind is an exclusive and therefore a monopolistic grant, it is fair that the holder, as a condition of the enjoyment, should give just compensation to the public at large, by whom, through the Government, that grant has been given. It seems to me unwise for Congress to take any other position. The greater the pecuniary gain to the holder of the grant, and the greater the value of the property by reason of

this exclusive monopolistic right, the greater should be the compensation to the public at large. The compensation would be available for the use of the public, through the Federal Government, either in still further improving or aiding navigation, or in rebuilding the dam in case the company failed, or in removing an obstruction if it be an obstruction to navigation. It seems to me clear that the right to impose a compensation in any of these cases is an incident to the control which the Federal Government has over navigation, and which it can exercise, either negatively by removing obstructions, or affirmatively by improving navigation. Whether the United States itself constructs the dam, or gives leave to construct it, is to my mind wholly unimportant as regards the matter we have under consideration. Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. J. ADAM BEDE,
House of Representatives.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE LAYING OF THE CORNERSTONE OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS, MAY 11, 1908

This is a memorable occasion for all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The building, the cornerstone of which we lay to-day, emphasizes by its existence the growing sense of solidarity of interest and aspiration among all the peoples of the New World. It marks our recognition of the need to knit ever closer together all the republics of the

Western Hemisphere, through the kindly bonds of mutual justice, good-will, and sympathetic comprehension.

At the outset, on behalf of all of us I wish to thank Mr. Carnegie for his generous gift—a gift to all the nations of the New World, and therefore pre-eminently fitting as coming from one who has so sincerely striven for the cause of peace among nations; for while we have yet a long path to tread before we can speak with any certainty of the day when wars shall cease from the earth, we of this Western Hemisphere by movements such as that symbolized by this building, have taken great strides toward securing permanent peace among ourselves.

In the next place, as President of this Republic I greet the representatives of all our sister Republics to the south of us. In a sense, you are our elder sisters and we the younger people, for you represent a more ancient civilization on this continent than we do. Your fathers, the Spanish and Portuguese explorers, conquerors, law-givers, and commonwealth builders, had founded a flourishing civilization in the Tropics and the South Temperate Zone while all America north of the Rio Grande was still unmapped wilderness. Your people had founded American universities, were building beautiful cities, were laying deep the foundations of future national life, at many different points in the vast territory stretching from the Colorado to the Plata, before the ships of the Frenchman and the Englishman, the Swede and the Hollander, had found permanent

havens on the North Atlantic seacoast. For centuries our several civilizations grew each in its own way, but each sundered from the others. Now we are growing together.

More and more in the future we shall each give to and get from the others, not merely things of material value, but things that are of worth for the intellectual and spiritual welfare of all of us. In the century that has passed the development of North America has, on the whole, proceeded faster than the development of South America; but in the century that has now opened I believe that no other part of the world will see such extraordinary development in wealth, in population, in all that makes for progress, as will be seen from the northern boundary of Mexico, through all Central and South America, and I can assure you that the people of this Nation look with the most profound satisfaction upon the great growth that has already taken place in the countries which you represent—a growth alike in political stability and in the material well-being which can only come when there is political stability.

Our battle fleet has just finished its trip around South America. [Great applause.] I am glad to hear you applaud the fleet. I believe in peace and arbitration and I also believe in keeping in such trim that it shall be a temptation to nobody to wrong us. This is an interlude. In that admirable speech of Secretary Root's to which you have just listened there was one sentence I wish we could see engraved

on this building: "The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything." Whatever disputes we have with another nation I hope our people will always approach them with the honest desire to come to a peaceable settlement. And moreover, I hope our people will remember not only the sentence that I have just quoted, but the one that went before: "There are no international controversies so serious that they can not be settled peaceably, if both parties desire settlement; while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they can not be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war." If we build up the American fleet as we ought to build it up, the other party will not "really desire war." My advocacy of peace is both sincere and rational; and therefore I believe in doing all we can to secure it, both by doing no wrong ourselves, and by keeping in such a state of preparedness that we shall not be exposed to being wronged by others.

I wish to thank the rulers and the peoples of South America and of Mexico for the generous and courteous hospitality which has been shown this fleet on every possible occasion throughout the trip.

In conclusion, let me speak of another trip, made a couple of years ago by the Secretary of State, Elihu Root, the first time in our history the American Secretary of State, during his term of office, left the country to visit certain other nations. Mr. Root made the complete tour of South America, traversed Central America, and afterward visited

Mexico. He was everywhere received with the heartiest greeting, a greeting which deeply touched our people, and I wish to say once more how appreciative we are of the reception tendered him.

His voyage was unique in character and in value. It was undertaken only because we citizens of this Republic recognize that our interests are more closely intertwined with the interests of the other peoples of this continent than with those of any other nations. I believe that history will say that though we have had other great Secretaries of State, we have had none greater than Elihu Root; and that though in his high office he has done much for the good of his Nation and of mankind, yet that his greatest achievement has been the success which has come as the result of his devoted labor to bring closer together all the republics of the New World, and to unite them in the effort to work valiantly for our common betterment, for the material and moral welfare of all who dwell in the Western Hemisphere.

TO MEMBERS OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF THE CIVIC LEAGUE, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, MAY 11, 1908

Mr. Easley, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I want to express my very real appreciation of the chance of meeting you here and bidding you welcome. I greet you all; men and women, representatives of labor and of capital, employers and employees, heads of corporations, heads of labor unions, leaders in sane philanthropic work—I greet

all of you, because you are all good American citizens, acknowledging as the first of social ties that which binds us all together in good American citizenship. There is much that the Civic Federation has done that is of very high value to this country, but no type of work that meant more than the work of the Welfare Department. Your work is eminently the type of civic work that is national in its consequences. More and more our people are growing to understand that what we have been prone to consider the only political matters in the past are of entirely subsidiary importance compared with the work of social and civic betterment, and that the politician who is really to do good must work to aid just such organizations as this in the kind of work that it has done. Another thing that is absolutely necessary is to differentiate between the good and the bad. To condemn all employers is just as foolish as to praise all employers; to condemn all capitalists is just as foolish as to praise all capitalists, or to praise or to blame all wage-workers. Bring all possible influence to bear to condemn the employer who goes wrong; and hold up the hands of the employer who does well; we are all of us mighty human, employer and employee alike. You have been able to show how, by taking a little thought, the employer can increase measurably the efficiency, and immeasurably the happiness, of those employed by him; you are working to try to diminish the gulf separating the employer from the employee; and no more useful

work can be done in this country. It is a very old and whole truth that the virtue of the citizens is the honor of the State; whereas one of those only partial truths that we should war against is the statement that "the Nation represents the average, and not the best." That is in its essence an untruth, at least as regards our aspiration. The Nation should represent the best and should steadily strive to bring the average up to the level of the best; and no leader, whether politician or man in private life, who is content merely to stand back with the average is doing his duty or has any claim to be considered a leader. We have a right to expect leadership from our public men; leadership from organizations like this, and I congratulate you that you are giving such leadership. Do honor to individual and corporation that install practical appliances for the health and comfort of their employees; that provide means for recreation and amusement; that encourage thrift and home-owning, and that turn dull factory yards into places of beauty. Incidentally remember that it will avail nothing to do all this if at the same time you give the wage-worker, the laborer, the employee, the impression that you think you own him. The only way you can help him is to help him to help himself; and if you give him the idea that you are going to act toward him as a beneficent despot he will revolt against the despotism without any regard to the beneficence. His self-respect is his most valuable attribute, as with any man worth his salt; and he is no friend who forgets this.

The only healthy attitude to take is that we are all working together for our mutual betterment, on a plane of common and neighborly endeavor; we can help the employee only in the same way that we can help the employer; only as each of us can help his neighbor and can be himself helped by that neighbor.

Now, I want your help in seeing that the Government occupies a position as good as that of the best employers instead of being down to the average, if not below it. I am trying at this time to get a law enacted which will allow the employee damaged in the Government service through no fault of his own to get some compensation from his employer, the Government. It seems incredible that at this period in the world's history the United States Government, the Government of this democratic Nation, should be lagging behind almost all other governments in such a matter as this. A year and a half ago, for instance, there was a perfectly competent man attending a switch engine on the Panama Railroad. An accident happened through no fault of his own, which crippled him for life; that man with his wife and children are on the verge of want, I may say past the verge of want, and he is supported only by the labor union to which he belongs; because there is no law by which I as the head of this Government can give him that which he is justly entitled to, as having been injured in the Government service. It is a scandal and reproach to us that there are bodies of our people, men claiming as capitalists to have a special right to speak to us, who actively

oppose the passage of a child-labor law for the District of Columbia; who protest against the passage of proper employers' liability laws. I want you to help me through your representatives to get that type of legislation enacted which will make the United States Government a model employer, which will make the only city under the absolute control of the United States Government, Washington, be a model city.

I hope you will not relax in the effort to secure the most favorable possible conditions under which the men and women who earn the day's livelihood by the day's labor may lead their lives; always remembering that if you approach them in a patronizing spirit they will refuse to be benefited; for you can help them only by approaching the problem in the frankest possible fashion from the standpoint of the common interest that they and you and all of us have in the common welfare of our common country, in the development of a high standard of citizenship among us. The truest friend of the reactionary is the violent extremist, notably the man of anarchistic type or the socialist who in practice makes his socialism simply a modified form of anarchy. The man who preaches class hatred, who preaches violence, who stands for assault not only upon the abuses of property but upon property, is doing all he can for the cause of reaction; for anarchy has ever been the handmaiden of tyranny, the precursor of absolutism. Always throughout history, if the sons of violence for the moment

gained control of governmental institutions, then their antitypes, the men who believe in order without liberty, inevitably succeed them in the control of these institutions. So in his turn the reactionary, the man who with hard, crass selfishness declines to see the abuses that exist around us, declines to struggle for the uplifting of those who have been less fortunate in this world's goods; the man who opposes sullenly and resentfully every measure to minimize the inequalities under which men lead their lives; every measure to bring a greater equality of opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him—this type of reactionary is the staunchest friend and ally of the red agitator; for he keeps on the statute books laws which give an excuse to these men who agitate to overthrow all law; he keeps in our body politic practices which give a seeming justification for the men who declaim against our entire social system. Distrust equally the foolish extremist who would abolish everything, and the foolish extremist who would refuse to abolish any abuse.

AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1908.

Governors of the several States, and Gentlemen:

I welcome you to this conference at the White House. You have come hither at my request so that we may join together to consider the question of

the conservation and use of the great fundamental sources of wealth of this Nation. So vital is this question, that for the first time in our history the chief executive officers of the States separately, and of the States together forming the Nation, have met to consider it.

With the Governors come men from each State chosen for their special acquaintance with the terms of the problem that is before us. Among them are experts in natural resources and representatives of national organizations concerned in the development and use of these resources; the Senators and Representatives in Congress; the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and the Inland Waterways Commission have likewise been invited to the conference, which is therefore national in a peculiar sense.

This conference on the conservation of natural resources is in effect a meeting of the representatives of all the people of the United States called to consider the weightiest problem now before the Nation; and the occasion for the meeting lies in the fact that the natural resources of our country are in danger of exhaustion if we permit the old wasteful methods of exploiting them longer to continue.

With the rise of peoples from savagery to civilization, and with the consequent growth in the extent and variety of the needs of the average man, there comes a steadily increasing growth of the amount demanded by this average man from the actual resources of the country. Yet, rather curiously, at the same time the average man is

apt to lose his realization of this dependence upon nature.

Savages, and very primitive peoples generally, concern themselves only with superficial natural resources; with those which they obtain from the actual surface of the ground. As peoples become a little less primitive, their industries, although in a rude manner, are extended to resources below the surface; then, with what we call civilization and the extension of knowledge, more resources come into use, industries are multiplied, and foresight begins to become a necessary and prominent factor in life. Crops are cultivated; animals are domesticated; and metals are mastered.

Every step of the progress of mankind is marked by the discovery and use of natural resources previously unused. Without such progressive knowledge and utilization of natural resources population could not grow, nor industries multiply, nor the hidden wealth of the earth be developed for the benefit of mankind.

From the first beginnings of civilization, on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, the industrial progress of the world has gone on slowly, with occasional setbacks, but on the whole steadily, through tens of centuries to the present day. But of late the rapidity of the process has increased at such a rate that more space has been actually covered during the century and a quarter occupied by our National life than during the preceding six thousand years that take us back to the earliest

monuments of Egypt to the earliest cities of the Babylonian plain.

When the founders of this Nation met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia the conditions of commerce had not fundamentally changed from what they were when the Phœnician keels first furrowed the lonely waters of the Mediterranean. The differences were those of degree, not of kind, and they were not in all cases even those of degree. Mining was carried on fundamentally as it had been carried on by the Pharaohs in the countries adjacent to the Red Sea.

The wares of the merchants of Boston, of Charleston, like the wares of the merchants of Nineveh and Sidon, if they went by water, were carried by boats propelled by sails or oars; if they went by land they were carried in wagons drawn by beasts of draft or in packs on the backs of beasts of burden. The ships that crossed the high seas were better than the ships that had once crossed the Ægean, but they were of the same type, after all—they were wooden ships propelled by sails; and on land, the roads were not as good as the roads of the Roman Empire, while the service of the posts was probably inferior.

In Washington's time anthracite coal was known only as a useless black stone; and the great fields of bituminous coal were undiscovered. As steam was unknown, the use of coal for power production was undreamed of. Water was practically the only source of power, save the labor of men and animals;

and this power was used only in the most primitive fashion. But a few small iron deposits had been found in this country, and the use of iron by our countrymen was very small. Wood was practically the only fuel, and what lumber was sawed was consumed locally, while the forests were regarded chiefly as obstructions to settlement and cultivation.

Such was the degree of progress to which civilized mankind had attained when this Nation began its career. It is almost impossible for us in this day to realize how little our Revolutionary ancestors knew of the great store of natural resources whose discovery and use have been such vital factors in the growth and greatness of this Nation, and how little they required to take from this store in order to satisfy their needs.

Since then our knowledge and use of the resources of the present territory of the United States have increased a hundredfold. Indeed, the growth of this Nation by leaps and bounds makes one of the most striking and important chapters in the history of the world. Its growth has been due to the rapid development, and alas! that it should be said, to the rapid destruction of our natural resources. Nature has supplied to us in the United States, and still supplies to us, more kinds of resources in a more lavish degree than has ever been the case at any other time or with any other people. Our position in the world has been attained by the extent and thoroughness of the control we have achieved over nature; but we are more, and not less, dependent

upon what she furnishes than at any previous time of history since the days of primitive man.

Yet our fathers, though they knew so little of the resources of the country, exercised a wise forethought in reference thereto. Washington clearly saw that the perpetuity of the States could only be secured by union, and that the only feasible basis of union was an economic one; in other words, that it must be based on the development and use of their natural resources. Accordingly, he helped to outline a scheme of commercial development, and by his influence an interstate waterways commission was appointed by Virginia and Maryland.

It met near where we are now meeting, in Alexandria, adjourned to Mount Vernon, and took up the consideration of interstate commerce by the only means then available, that of water. Further conferences were arranged, first at Annapolis, and then at Philadelphia. It was in Philadelphia that the representatives of all the States met for what was in its original conception merely a waterways conference; but when they had closed their deliberations the outcome was the Constitution which made the States into a Nation.

The Constitution of the United States thus grew in large part out of the necessity for united action in the wise use of one of our natural resources. The wise use of all of our natural resources, which are our National resources as well, is the great material question of to-day. I have asked you to come together now because the enormous consumption

of these resources, and the threat of imminent exhaustion of some of them, due to reckless and wasteful use, once more calls for common effort, common action.

Since the days when the Constitution was adopted, steam and electricity have revolutionized the industrial world. Nowhere has the revolution been so great as in our own country. The discovery and utilization of mineral fuels and alloys have given us the lead over all other nations in the production of steel. The discovery and utilization of coal and iron have given us our railways, and have led to such industrial development as has never before been seen. The vast wealth of lumber in our forests, the riches of our soils and mines, the discovery of gold and mineral oils, combined with the efficiency of our transportation, have made the conditions of our life unparalleled in comfort and convenience.

The steadily increasing drain on these natural resources has promoted to an extraordinary degree the complexity of our industrial and social life. Moreover, this unexampled development has had a determining effect upon the character and opinions of our people. The demand for efficiency in the great task has given us vigor, effectiveness, decision, and power, and a capacity for achievement which in its own lines has never yet been matched. So great and so rapid has been our material growth that there has been a tendency to lag behind in spiritual and moral growth; but that

is not the subject upon which I speak to you to-day. Disregarding for the moment the question of moral purpose, it is safe to say that the prosperity of our people depends directly on the energy and intelligence with which our natural resources are used. It is equally clear that these resources are the final basis of national power and perpetuity. Finally, it is ominously evident that these resources are in the course of rapid exhaustion.

This Nation began with the belief that its landed possessions were illimitable and capable of supporting all the people who might care to make our country their home; but already the limit of unsettled land is in sight, and indeed but little land fitted for agriculture now remains unoccupied save what can be reclaimed by irrigation and drainage. We began with an unapproached heritage of forests; more than half of the timber is gone. We began with coal fields more extensive than those of any other nation and with iron ores regarded as inexhaustible, and many experts now declare that the end of both iron and coal is in sight.

The mere increase in our consumption of coal during 1907 over 1906 exceeded the total consumption in 1876, the Centennial year. The enormous stores of mineral oil and gas are largely gone. Our natural waterways are not gone, but they have been so injured by neglect, and by the division of responsibility and utter lack of system in dealing with them, that there is less navigation on them now than there was fifty years ago. Finally, we began

with soils of unexampled fertility and we have so impoverished them by injudicious use and by failing to check erosion that their crop-producing power is diminishing instead of increasing. In a word, we have thoughtlessly, and to a large degree unnecessarily, diminished the resources upon which not only our prosperity but the prosperity of our children must always depend.

We have become great because of the lavish use of our resources and we have just reason to be proud of our growth. But the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil, and the gas are exhausted, when the soils shall have been still further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields, and obstructing navigation. These questions do not relate only to the next century or to the next generation. It is time for us now as a Nation to exercise the same reasonable foresight in dealing with our great natural resources that would be shown by any prudent man in conserving and widely using the property which contains the assurance of well-being for himself and his children.

The natural resources I have enumerated can be divided into two sharply distinguished classes accordingly as they are or are not capable of renewal. Mines if used must necessarily be exhausted. The minerals do not and can not renew themselves. Therefore in dealing with the coal, the oil, the gas, the iron, the metals generally, all that we can do is

to try to see that they are wisely used. The exhaustion is certain to come in time.

The second class of resources consists of those which can not only be used in such manner as to leave them undiminished for our children, but can actually be improved by wise use. The soil, the forests, the waterways come in this category. In dealing with mineral resources, man is able to improve on nature only by putting the resources to a beneficial use which in the end exhausts them; but in dealing with the soil and its products man can improve on nature by compelling the resources to renew and even reconstruct themselves in such manner as to serve increasingly beneficial uses—while the living waters can be so controlled as to multiply their benefits.

Neither the primitive man nor the pioneer was aware of any duty to posterity in dealing with the renewable resources. When the American settler felled the forests, he felt that there was plenty of forest left for the sons who came after him. When he exhausted the soil of his farm he felt that his son could go West and take up another. So it was with his immediate successors. When the soil-wash from the farmer's fields choked the neighboring river he thought only of using the railway rather than boats for moving his produce and supplies.

Now all this is changed. On the average the son of the farmer of to-day must make his living on his father's farm. There is no difficulty in doing this if the father will exercise wisdom. No wise

use of a farm exhausts its fertility. So with the forests. We are over the verge of a timber famine in this country, and it is unpardonable for the Nation or the States to permit any further cutting of our timber save in accordance with a system which will provide that the next generation shall see the timber increased instead of diminished. Moreover, we can add enormous tracts of the most valuable possible agricultural land to the National domain by irrigation in the arid and semi-arid regions and by drainage of great tracts of swamp land in the humid regions. We can enormously increase our transportation facilities by the canalization of our rivers so as to complete a great system of waterways on the Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf coasts and in the Mississippi Valley, from the Great Plains to the Alleghenies and from the northern lakes to the mouth of the mighty Father of Waters. But all these various uses of our natural resources are so closely connected that they should be coordinated and should be treated as part of one coherent plan and not in haphazard and piecemeal fashion.

It is largely because of this that I appointed the Waterways Commission last year and that I have sought to perpetuate its work. I wish to take this opportunity to express in heartiest fashion my acknowledgment to all the members of the Commission. At great personal sacrifice of time and effort they have rendered a service to the public for which we can not be too grateful. Especial credit

is due to the initiative, the energy, the devotion to duty, and the far-sightedness of Gifford Pinchot, to whom we owe so much of the progress we have already made in handling this matter of the co-ordination and conservation of natural resources. If it had not been for him this convention neither would nor could have been called.

We are coming to recognize as never before the right of the Nation to guard its own future in the essential matter of natural resources. In the past we have admitted the right of the individual to injure the future of the Republic for his own present profit. The time has come for a change. As a people we have the right and the duty, second to none other but the right and duty of obeying the moral law, of requiring and doing justice, to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources, whether that waste is caused by the actual destruction of such resources or by making them impossible of development hereafter.

Any right-thinking father earnestly desires and strives to leave his son both an untarnished name and a reasonable equipment for the struggle of life. So this Nation as a whole should earnestly desire and strive to leave to the next generation the National honor unstained and the National resources unexhausted. There are signs that both the Nation and the States are waking to a realization of this great truth. On March 10, 1908, the Supreme Court of Maine rendered an exceedingly

important judicial decision. This opinion was rendered in response to questions as to the right of the Legislature to restrict the cutting of trees on private land for the prevention of droughts and floods, the preservation of the natural water supply, and the prevention of the erosion of such lands, and the consequent filling up of rivers, ponds, and lakes. The forests and water-power of Maine constitute the larger part of her wealth and form the basis of her industrial life, and the question submitted by the Maine Senate to the Supreme Court and the answer of the Supreme Court alike bear testimony to the wisdom of the people of Maine, and clearly define a policy of conservation of natural resources, the adoption of which is of vital importance not merely to Maine but to the whole country.

Such a policy will preserve soil, forests, water-power as a heritage for the children and the children's children of the men and women of this generation; for any enactment that provides for the wise utilization of the forests, whether in public or private ownership, and for the conservation of the water resources of the country, must necessarily be legislation that will promote both private and public welfare; for flood prevention, water-power development, preservation of the soil, and improvement of navigable rivers are all promoted by such a policy of forest conservation.

The opinion of the Maine Supreme bench sets forth unequivocably the principle that the property

rights of the individual are subordinate to the rights of the community and especially that the waste of wild timber land derived originally from the State, involving as it would the impoverishment of the State and its people and thereby defeating one great purpose of government, may properly be prevented by State restrictions.

The court says that there are two reasons why the right of the public to control and limit the use of private property is peculiarly applicable to property in land: "First, such property is not the result of productive labor, but is derived solely from the State itself, the original owner; second, the amount of land being incapable of increase, if the owners of large tracts can waste them at will without State restriction, the State and its people may be helplessly impoverished and one great purpose of government defeated. . . . We do not think the proposed legislation would operate to 'take' private property within the inhibition of the Constitution. While it might restrict the owner of wild and uncultivated lands in his use of them, might delay his taking some of the product, might delay his anticipated profits and even thereby might cause him some loss of profit, it would nevertheless leave him his lands, their product and increase, untouched, and without diminution of title, estate, or quantity. He would still have large measure of control and large opportunity to realize values. He might suffer delay but not deprivation. . . . The proposed legislation . . . would be within the legislative

power and would not operate as a taking of private property for which compensation must be made."

The Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey has adopted a similar view, which has recently been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. In delivering the opinion of the Court on April 6, 1908, Mr. Justice Holmes said: "The State as quasi-sovereign and representative of the interests of the public has a standing in court to protect the atmosphere, the water, and the forests within its territory, irrespective of the assent or dissent of the private owners of the land most immediately concerned. . . . It appears to us that few public interests are more obvious, indisputable and independent of particular theory than the interest of the public of a State to maintain the rivers that are wholly within it substantially undiminished, except by such drafts upon them as the guardian of the public welfare may permit for the purpose of turning them to a more perfect use. This public interest is omnipresent wherever there is a State, and grows more pressing as population grows. . . . We are of opinion further, that the constitutional power of the State to insist that its natural advantages shall remain unimpaired by its citizens is not dependent upon any nice estimate of the extent of present use or speculation as to future needs. The legal conception of the necessary is apt to be confined to somewhat rudimentary wants, and there are benefits from a great river that might escape a lawyer's view. But the State is not required to

submit even to an æsthetic analysis. Any analysis may be inadequate. It finds itself in possession of what all admit to be a great public good, and what it has it may keep and give no one a reason for its will. These decisions reach the root of the idea of conservation of our resources in the interests of our people. Finally, let us remember that the conservation of our natural resources, though the gravest problem of to-day, is yet but part of another and greater problem to which this Nation is not yet awake, but to which it will awake in time, and with which it must hereafter grapple if it is to live—the problem of National efficiency, the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the Nation. When the people of the United States consciously undertake to raise themselves as citizens, and the Nation and the States in their several spheres, to the highest pitch of excellence in private, State, and National life, and to do this because it is the first of all the duties of true patriotism, then and not till then the future of this Nation, in quality and in time, will be assured.

AT THE CONSERVATION CONFERENCE MAY 15, 1908

(After Mr. Bryan's speech.)

Gentlemen:

Just a word on what has been called the "Twilight Land" between the powers of the Federal and State Governments. My primary aim in the legislation that I have advocated for the regulation of the great corporations has been to provide some effective pop-

ular sovereign for each corporation. I do not wish to keep this twilight land one of large and vague boundaries, by judicial decision that in a given case the State cannot act, and then a few years later by other decisions that in practically similar cases the Nation cannot act either. I am trying to find out where one or the other can act, so there shall always be some sovereign power that on behalf of the people can hold every big corporation, every big individual, to an accountability so that its or his acts shall be beneficial to the people as a whole. In matters that relate only to the people within the State of course the State is to be sovereign and it should have the power to act. If the matter is such that the State itself cannot act then I wish on behalf of all the States that the National Government should act.

Take such a matter as charging a rent for water power. My position is simply that where a privilege, which may be of untold value in the future to the individual grantee, is asked from the Federal Government, then the Federal Government should put into the grant a condition that it shall not be a grant in perpetuity. If there is necessity for the grant, then there must be power to attach conditions to the grant. Make it long enough so that the corporation shall have an ample material reward. The corporation deserves it. Give an ample reward to the captain of industry; but not an indeterminate and infinite reward. Put in a provision that will enable the next generation, that will enable our children

at the end of a certain specified period to say what, in their judgment, should then be done with that great natural power which is of use to the grantee only because the people as a whole allow him to use it. It is eminently right that he should be allowed to make ample profit from his development of it; but make him pay something for the privilege, and make the grant for a fixed period so that when the conditions change, as in all probability they will change, our children, the Nation of the future, shall have the right to determine the condition upon which that privilege shall be enjoyed. In these cases the State has not acted or cannot act; therefore I hold the Nation should act. Where the policy I advocate can be carried out best by the State, let it be carried out by the State; where it can be carried out best by the Nation, let it be carried out by the Nation. My concern is not with the academic side of the question; I deal with the matter practically from the standpoint of true popular interest; and therefore my desire is to employ indifferently either the principle of State's rights or the principle of National sovereignty, whichever in a given case will best conserve the needs of the people as a whole.

TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1908

It is a pleasure to be with you to-day and to bid you welcome on behalf of the Nation, here in the capital of the Nation. Important though the Meth-

odist Church is in many lands, there is none in which it has played so great and peculiar a part as here in the United States. Its history is indissolubly interwoven with the history of our country for the six score years since the Constitutional Convention made us really a Nation. Methodism in America entered on its period of rapid growth just about the time of Washington's first Presidency. Its essential democracy, its fiery and restless energy of spirit, and the wide play that it gave to individual initiative, all tended to make it peculiarly congenial to a hardy and virile folk, democratic to the core, prizing individual independence above all earthly possessions, and engaged in the rough and stern work of conquering a continent. Methodism spread even among the old communities and the long-settled districts of the Atlantic tide-water; but its phenomenal growth was from these regions westward. The whole country is under a debt of gratitude to the Methodist circuit riders, the Methodist pioneer preachers, whose movement westward kept pace with the movement of the frontier, who shared all the hardships in the life of the frontiersman, while at the same time ministering to that frontiersman's spiritual needs, and seeing that his pressing material cares and the hard and grinding poverty of his life did not wholly extinguish the divine fire within his soul. Such was your work in the past; and your work in the present is as great; for the need and opportunity for service widen as the field of national interest widens. It is not true in this

country that the poor have grown poorer; but it is true that in many sections, and particularly in our large cities, the rich have grown so very much richer as to widen the gulf between the man of very large means and the man who makes each day's livelihood by that day's work; and those who with sincerity, and efficiency, and deep conviction, band together for mutual help, are those who can do most to keep the gulf from becoming too wide. True religion, through church organizations, through philanthropic organizations, in all the field of kindred endeavor, can manifest itself as effectively in the crowded and complex life of to-day as in the pioneer yesterdays; and the souls of men need the light now, and strive blindly toward it, as they needed it, and strove toward it in the vanished past. It is your task to do the work of the Lord on the farm and in the mine, in the counting-room and the factory, in the car shops and beside the blasting furnaces, just as it was the task of your spiritual forebears to wrestle for the souls of the men and women who dwelt on the stump-dotted clearings in the wilderness.

No nation in the world has more right than ours to look with proud confidence toward the future. Nowhere else has the experiment of democratic government, of government by the people and for the people, of government based on the principle of treating each man on his innate worth as a man, been tried on so vast a scale as with us; and on the whole the experiment has been more successful than anywhere

else. Moreover, on the whole, I think it can be said that we have grown better and not worse; for if there is much evil, good also greatly abounds, and if wrong grows, so in even greater measure grows the stern sense of right before which wrong must eventually yield. It would be both unmanly and unwarranted to become faint-hearted or despairing about the Nation's future. Clear-eyed and far-sighted men who are both brave of heart and cool of head, while not for a moment refusing to see and acknowledge the many evils around us, must yet also feel a confident assurance that in the struggle we shall win and not lose, that the century that has just opened will see great triumph for our people.

But the surest way to achieve this triumph is, while never losing hope and belief in our progress, yet at the same time to refuse to bind ourselves to what is evil in the complex play of the many forces, working through, and with, and against one another, in the upbuilding of our social structure. There is much that tends toward evil as well as much that tends toward good; and the true patriot is that man who, without losing faith in the good, does his best to combat the evil, to stamp it out where that is possible, and at least to minimize its results. Prosperity such as ours, necessary though it be as the material basis of national greatness, inevitably tends to undue exaltation of the merely material side of the national character; and we must largely rely on the efforts of such men and women as those I

am addressing to build up the spiritual life without which the material life amounts to nothing. As generation succeeds generation the problems change in their external shape; old needs vanish, and new needs arise; but it remains as true as ever that in the last analysis national greatness, national happiness, national success, depend upon the character of the individual man and individual woman. We need good laws; we need to have these laws honestly and fearlessly administered; we need wealth; we need science and art and all the kindred activities that spring from the clever brain and the deft hand. But most of all we need the essential qualities that in their sum make up the good man and the good woman; most of all we need that fine and healthy family life the lack of which makes any seeming material prosperity but a glittering sham.

If the average man is brave and hard-working and clean-living, if the average woman has the qualities which make a good wife and good mother, if each has self-respect, and if each realizes that the greatest thing in life is the chance to do service —why, then the future of the Nation is secure. We can not stand up for what is good in manhood and womanhood without condemning what is evil. We must condemn the man who is either brutal and vicious, or weak and cowardly; the man who fails to do his duty by the public, who is a bad neighbor, an idler, an inconsiderate and selfish husband, a neglectful father. So also we must condemn the woman who, whether from cowardice or coldness,

from selfish love of ease or from lack of all true womanly quality, refuses to do aright her great and all-essential duties of wifehood and motherhood. We admire a good man; but we admire a good woman more. We believe in her more. All honor is due the man who does his full duty in peace, who as a soldier does his full duty in war; but even more honor is due the mother; for the birth pangs make all men the debtors of all women. No human being has a greater title to respect than the mother who does her full duty, who bears and rears plenty of healthy children, so that there shall be national growth and not national decadence, so that in quality and quantity our people shall increase. The measure of our belief in and respect for the good man and the good woman must be the measure of our condemnation of the man and the woman who, whether from viciousness or selfishness or from vapid folly, fails to do each his or her duty in his or her special sphere. Courage, unselfishness, common sense, devotion to high ideals, a proper care for the things of the spirit, and yet also for the things of the body—these are what we most need to see in our people; these are the qualities that make up the right type of family life; and these are the qualities that by precept and by example you here, whom I am addressing, are bound to do all in your power to make the typical qualities of American citizenship.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT TO CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL AT MATINNECOCK, LONG ISLAND, JULY 11, 1908

Colonel Underhill, Friends and Neighbors:

It gave me real pleasure to accept this invitation because I thought it a good thing that the founder of what was to become one of the distinctive Long Island families should have a monument erected to him here. I shall not try to speak to you of the career of Captain Underhill, a man who left his mark deep on the history of New England as well as New Holland; one of the men who in Colonial times helped lay the foundations for the Nation that was to be; for others will address you upon his life. I want to say just a word or two in greeting you upon what his career and the career of his descendants should mean in our American life of to-day. I have known Underhills all my life, on land and on water; bankers, lawyers, storekeepers, farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, captains of oyster boats, fishermen, pilots—men of every calling and occupation. They have served well in the army; they have served well in times of peace. The founder of the family here was a good soldier and a good citizen, and the Underhills of to-day have furnished their full quota of good soldiers and good citizens in their turn. If they had not, I would not have been here; I have no use whatever for the man with nothing but a pedigree, the man the best part

of whom is under ground! I believe in the pride of ancestry, but only if it takes the form of making the man or woman try to carry himself or herself well as regards the duties of to-day. If at the time of the Civil War you, Mr. Chairman, had felt that the fact that the original Captain Underhill was a fighter excused you from fighting, I should have thought mighty little of you. The thing to do is to feel (and I guess, you comrade over there—I mean the man with the Grand Army button—you will agree with me) that if you had ancestors who did their duty, it is doubly incumbent upon you to do your duty. I have known any number of Underhills in every walk of life, men who made their living in many different ways, men belonging to the professions, men who followed the sea, men who tilled the soil, men of means, men who made each day's living by that day's work with their hands—and all of them decent citizens. I won't say that there are not some Underhills that are not decent, but, fortunately, I have not met them. Now, if there is one lesson that we in America ought continually to keep before us, it is our substantial oneness; our substantial unity as a people; and one of the best ways to exemplify that is by just such a family gathering as this. If the family has been long enough in the land, why, you will find its representatives in every walk of life; you will find them filling all kinds of occupations; you will find them as capitalists and wage-workers, farmers, mechanics, professional men, everything; and the essential

point to remember is that each one is entitled to the fullest and heartiest respect if he does his duty well in the position in life in which he happens to find himself. That is sound American doctrine. I should not care much to attend an Underhill gathering that was limited to capitalist Underhills, nor yet one limited to Underhill wage-workers; but I am glad to attend one where every one comes in on the basis of decent American citizenship, each standing ruggedly on his own feet, as a man should. The same thing that applies to you Underhills here, applies to the rest of us who are not Underhills in the country at large. We have made this country what it is in part because we have measurably succeeded in securing in the past equality of opportunity here. That is very different from equality of reward. I believe emphatically in doing everything that can be done by law or otherwise to keep the avenues of occupation, of employment, of work, of interest, so open that there shall be, so far as it is humanly possible to achieve it, a measurable equality of opportunity; equality of opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him. But when it comes to reward, let him get what by his energy, foresight, intelligence, thrift, courage, he is able to get, with the opportunity open. I don't believe in coddling any one; I would no more permit the strong to oppress and exploit the weak, than tell a weak man or a vicious man that he ought by rights to have the reward due only to the man who actually earns it. Very properly we in this country set our

faces against privilege. There can be no grosser example of privilege than that set before us as an ideal by certain socialistic writers—the ideal that every man shall put into the common fund what he can, which would mean what he chose, and should take out whatever he wanted; in other words, this theory is that the man who is vicious, foolish, a drag on the whole community, who contributes less than his share to the common good, should take out what is not his, what he has not earned; that he shall rob his neighbor of what that neighbor has earned. This particular socialistic ideal would be to enthrone privilege in one of its grossest, crudest, most dishonest, most harmful and most unjust forms. Equality of opportunity to render service—yes, I will do everything I can to try to bring it about. Equality of reward—no, unless there is also equality of service. If the service is equal, let the reward be equal; but let the reward depend on the service; and mankind being composed as it is, there will be inequality of service for a long time to come, no matter how great the equality of opportunity may be, and just as long as there is inequality of service it is eminently desirable that there should be inequality of reward. But in securing a measurable equality of opportunity let us no more be led astray by the doctrinaire advocates of a lawless and destructive individualism than by the doctrinaire advocates of a deadening socialism. As society progresses and grows more complex, it becomes desirable to do many things for the common good

by common effort. No empirical line can be laid down as to where and when such common effort by the whole community should supplant or supplement private and individual effort. Each case must be judged on its own merits. Similarly, where a private or corporate fortune of vast size is turned to a business use which jeopardizes the welfare of all the small men, then in the interest of everybody, in the interest of true individualism, the collective or common power of the community must be exercised to control and regulate for the common good this business use of vast wealth; and while doing this we must make it evident that we frown upon envy and malice exactly as we frown upon arrogance and oppression.

You see, Dominie, you let yourself in for a little sermon when you came here. I did not intend to speak as much. I want to thank you for having given me the chance to come over and meet my fellow Long Islanders, my neighbors, my fellow-citizens.

TO THE CONFERENCE OF OFFICERS AT THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE, NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, JULY 22, 1908

Admiral, Mr. Secretary, Gentlemen:

There are only a few things that I desire to say to-day to the Conference, and what I have to say really is said less to the officers present than to the great bulk of my fellow countrymen outside. I could not speak to you technically. I can speak to

my fellow countrymen who are deeply interested in the American navy, but who sometimes tend to be misled as to the kind of navy we should have and as to what the navy can and ought to do.

For instance, there are always a certain number of well-meaning, amiable individuals—coupled with others not quite so well-meaning—who like to talk of having a navy merely for defence, who advocate a coast-defence navy. Such advocacy illustrates a habit of mind as old as human nature itself—the desire at the same time to do something, and not to do it, than which there is no surer way of combining the disadvantages of leaving it undone and of trying to do it. A purely defensive navy, a mere coast-defence navy, would be almost worthless. To advocate a navy merely for coast defence stands in point of rational intelligence about on a par with advocating the creation of a school of prize fighters in which nobody should do anything but parry. No fight was ever won yet except by hitting; and the one unforgivable offence in any man is to hit soft. Don't hit at all if it can possibly be avoided; but if you do hit, hit as hard as you know how. That applies to the individual and it applies to the Nation; and those who advocate a merely defensive navy, a mere coast-defence navy, are advocating that we shall adopt as a National principle the principle of hitting soft. I hope with all my heart that never will this Nation of ours hit unless it cannot possibly be helped. I believe that the Nation should do everything honorable at all times to avoid any trouble;

that it should scrupulously refrain from wronging or insulting any other nation; that it should put up with a good deal in the way of misconduct on the part of others before going to war. But when this Nation does have to go to war, such war will only be excusable if the Nation intends to hammer its opponent until that opponent quits fighting. You don't hammer an opponent if you keep your fleet along the coast waiting until the opponent takes the initiative and hammers you.

For the protection of our coasts we need fortifications; we need to have these fortifications not merely to protect the salient points of our possessions, but we need them so that the navy can be foot-loose. A year ago at the time that it was announced that the fleet was to go around the world there were a certain number of newspapers, especially in my own city of New York, that raised a clamorous protest against it. Exactly how close the connection was between this protest against the fleet going around the world and dissatisfaction with the economic policies of the Administration, it is not necessary at this moment to discuss; but the protest was made. It took at one time the form of a mistaken prophecy to the effect that the fleet would not be allowed to go around the world, and one of the reasons alleged was that to let it go around the world would leave New York defenceless in the event of war; the theory evidently being that the fleet, or a portion of it, would be used especially to protect New York and other cities in the event of war. If war comes

at any time in the future, that Administration under which it comes will indeed be guilty of folly if they use the fleet to protect any port. Let the port be protected by the fortifications; the fleet must be foot-loose to search out and destroy the enemy's fleet. That is the function of the fleet; that is the only function that can justify the fleet's existence; and that function cannot exist in the case of such a ridiculous fleet as the fleet would be if it were only possible to use it for coast-defence purposes.

Again, as a question of National policy. When statesmen, when the people behind political leaders, embark on any given policy, they build up for themselves a time of humiliation and disaster in the future if they do not prepare to make that policy effective. There is something to be said (from my standpoint, gentlemen, not much, but still something) for the theory that this Nation shall never have any interests outside its own borders and shall assume toward other nations an attitude of such meekness that no trouble can ever possibly come. As I say, something can be said for that policy. It would not appeal to me; but still it is a defensible policy. But a wholly indefensible policy would be consistently to work for the assumption of responsibilities without making any provision for meeting the demands necessarily entailed by those responsibilities. To be rich, aggressive, and unarmed, is to invite certain disaster and annihilation.

We have taken the Philippines; but if we had not taken them not a particle of difference would be

made as regards the needs of our naval policies. There has been a division among this people as to the taking the Philippines. There has been no division on the Monroe Doctrine; no division on building, maintaining, policing, and defending the Panama Canal; no division about Hawaii and Porto Rico; no division about keeping Alaska, which, though on the continent, is just as much separated as if it was an island; no division about asserting our superior right to defend and protect Cuba. Not one of the courses of action thus outlined can be followed out excepting with a first-class navy. The Monroe Doctrine was in danger of falling not merely into disuse, but into contempt, until we began to build up our Navy. The Monroe Doctrine won't be observed by foreign nations with sufficient strength to disregard it when once it becomes their interest to disregard it, unless we have a navy sufficient to make our assertion of the Doctrine good. The Monroe Doctrine, unbacked by a navy, is an empty boast; and there exist but few more contemptible characters, individual or national, than the man or the nation who boasts, and when the boast is challenged, fails to make good. If we have a coast-defence navy only we had better at once turn over the Panama Canal to some stronger and braver nation which would not limit itself merely to a coast-defence navy, and could protect and police it. If we should limit ourselves merely to a navy that would confine us to defensive war—war certain in the end to be unsuccessful—it would be well at

once to give up Hawaii, to give up Porto Rico, to give up Alaska, and to say that we had no more interest in Cuba than the smallest outside power. If we intend to claim to be a great Nation then we must fit ourselves so that we may be ready at need to make good that claim. That can only be done by building up and maintaining at the highest point of efficiency the United States Navy.

There is a curious corollary to what I am just saying. If we are ready to make good the claims, the chances are infinitesimal that it will ever be necessary to do so. The real chance of war for this Nation comes only if we combine a policy which disregards the interests or feelings of others, with a policy of helplessness to hold our own if our right to do as we wish is challenged. If, on the other hand, we are ready in very fact to hold our own, the chance becomes infinitesimal that we will be called upon to do so.

I have spoken of our needing an efficient Navy because of our possessions that are separated from us by water; because of our advocacy of the Monroe Doctrine; because of our being engaged in building the Isthmian canal. But constituted as this people is, if we did not have a foreign possession; if we abandoned the Monroe Doctrine; if we handed over to some other power the Panama Canal, it would still be necessary for us to have a navy, and a strong, fighting navy. We do not want any navy at all if it is not a first-class one; and such a navy will be necessary for us just so long as we demand the

right to administer our internal affairs as we think best.

This country is yet in its youth. In the process of building up, many hundreds of thousands of immigrants are coming here from all parts of the world, representing many different nationalities, many different strata of cultivation, of civilization. In consequence there are points of friction between this country and other countries such as exist in no other nation than ours. It is a curious fact, and a lesson as to the folly of a portion of mankind, that many of the very people who advocate our following some given course of policy that will be most apt to bring us into trouble with other nations, stoutly protest against our also following the only policy that would make such a course of conduct as that they advocate anything but contemptible in the eyes of the world and disastrous to ourselves.

Ultimately, and I think at not a very distant period, as this country fills up, and as it becomes more and more important that we should keep on the highest possible level the plane of living of our workingmen—for the chief end of a National policy in this country should be to keep on the highest level the prosperity of the tiller of the soil and the wage-worker, for the prosperity of all other classes will follow their prosperity—therefore, gentlemen, as it becomes more and more important to keep that prosperity at a high level, it is very possible that we shall have to exercise a continually greater supervision, a continually greater exercise of the right of rejec-

tion among immigrants that come hither, and shall, as regards it may be many different peoples, take an attitude that will tend at first to provoke friction with them. Now it is our undoubted right to say what people, what persons, shall come to this country to live, to work, to become citizens. It is equally undoubtedly our duty that that right shall be exercised in a way that will be provocative of the least, and not of the most, friction with outsiders. The theory of certain of our fellow-citizens that we can permanently follow a policy of peace with insult is erroneous. We must stand up for our rights firmly but temperately and courteously and with all possible respect, not merely for the rights but for the feelings of others; and finally, gentlemen, we must remember that we cannot permanently be certain that we will keep our rights as the world now is unless we have potential force back of them.

We have the right to choose who shall come here from abroad. It is our duty to exercise that right so that it will cause the minimum of offence to any other friendly power, so that it will cause the minimum of friction and will be accompanied with the greatest good-will and friendship and evidences of good-will and friendship on our part toward other powers. But it is absolutely necessary that if we claim for ourselves the right to choose who shall come here, we shall be in trim to uphold that right if any power challenges it; and it cannot be upheld by words, it cannot be upheld by a coast-defence navy, by a navy that will parry but that won't hit.

It can be upheld only by the possession of an efficient fighting navy, a navy able to preserve the honor and the interest of the United States, not by inviting attack on our shores and then seeing if we cannot repel it, but by taking such action as shall guarantee us against our shores being attacked.

Now, what I have said naturally has no special interest for you. I am a layman. Speaking to professional men, I could not tell them anything about their profession. But I can say to my fellow-laymen and to all my countrymen, civilians, sailors or soldiers, what are certain great lines of policy which we should follow. At the present day the Monroe Doctrine is unchallenged, and the people abroad who used to sneer at it now say it is a pretty good doctrine after all, a useful doctrine on the whole for the peace of the world. What has produced that change? Words? Not a bit of it. Diplomacy? Only in so far as diplomacy rested on the substantial basis of potential force. The voyage of the sixteen battleships around South America, through the Straits of Magellan, from Hampton Roads to Puget Sound—that was the most instructive object lesson that had ever been afforded as to the reality of the Monroe Doctrine.

Now, gentlemen, the possibilities of misapprehension, of misconstruction, of what one says are infinite, especially when they are accompanied with something of design. I wish to reiterate, and to say with just as much earnestness as I have spoken to-day on other subjects, that I want a first-class

fighting navy because it is the most effective guarantee of peace that this country can have. Uncle Sam can well afford to pay for his peace and safety so cheap an insurance policy as is implied in the maintenance of the United States Navy. There is not a more paying investment that he makes. All of the leaders of our people are fond of assuring this people that it is a great people; they are fond of assuring it of that fact even when they are advocating policies that if carried out would assuredly make the fact merely a memory. We are a great people. That ought not to be a subject for boastfulness; it ought to be a subject for serious consideration because of the heavy responsibilities that go with it. We cannot help playing a great part in the world, but we can very easily help playing that part well; and to be a great people and make a great failure is as unattractive a spectacle as history affords. We are one of the great world powers—in situation, in population, in wealth. We are such a power because of the spirit and purpose of our people. It is not open to us to decide whether or not the career that we lead shall be important; it has got to be important. All we can decide is as to whether our success shall be great or our failure great; we are sure to make either a great failure or a great success. I would not pretend for a moment, gentlemen, to you or to any one else that merely military proficiency on land or sea would by itself make this or any other nation great. First and foremost come the duties within the gates of our own household;

first and foremost our duty is to strive to bring about a better administration of justice, cleaner, juster, more equitable methods in our political, business, and social life, the reign of law, the reign of that orderly liberty which was the first consideration in the minds of the founders of this Republic. Our duties at home are of the first importance. But our duties abroad are of vital consequence also. This Nation may fail, no matter how well it keeps itself prepared against the possibility of disaster from abroad; but it will certainly fail if we do not thus keep ourselves prepared. And I ask our people to take the keenest and most intelligent interest in the affairs of the Navy and to watch closely those at Washington, in the Executive Department and in the Legislative Department as well, who are concerned with the affairs of the Navy, because as a Nation we need greatly in the interest of peace, in the interest of true National greatness, that the United States Navy, with its ships, its officers, its enlisted men, shall at every point be kept in the highest possible condition of efficiency and well-being.

LETTER TO PROF. L. H. BAILEY CREATING THE COMMISSION ON COUNTRY LIFE

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
August 10, 1908.

MY DEAR PROF. BAILEY:

No nation has ever achieved permanent greatness unless this greatness was based on the well-being of

the great farmer class, the men who live on the soil; for it is upon their welfare, material and moral, that the welfare of the rest of the nation ultimately rests. In the United States, disregarding certain sections and taking the Nation as a whole, I believe it to be true that the farmers in general are better off to-day than they ever were before. We Americans are making great progress in the development of our agricultural resources. But it is equally true that the social and economic institutions of the open country are not keeping pace with the development of the Nation as a whole. The farmer is, as a rule, better off than his forbears; but his increase in well-being has not kept pace with that of the country as a whole. While the condition of the farmers in some of our best farming regions leaves little to be desired, we are far from having reached so high a level in all parts of the country. In portions of the South, for example, where the Department of Agriculture, through the Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration work of Doctor Knapp, is directly instructing more than thirty thousand farmers in better methods of farming, there is nevertheless much unnecessary suffering and needless loss of efficiency on the farm. A physician, who is also a careful student of farm life in the South, writing to me recently about the enormous percentage of preventable deaths of children due to the unsanitary condition of certain Southern farms, said:

"Personally, from the health point of view, I would prefer to see my own daughter, nine years

old, at work in a cotton mill, than have her live as tenant on the average Southern tenant one-horse farm. This apparently extreme statement is based upon actual life among both classes of people."

I doubt if any other nation can bear comparison with our own in the amount of attention given by the Government, both Federal and State, to agricultural matters. But practically the whole of this effort has hitherto been directed toward increasing the production of crops. Our attention has been concentrated almost exclusively on getting better farming. In the beginning this was unquestionably the right thing to do. The farmer must first of all grow good crops in order to support himself and his family. But when this has been secured, the effort for better farming should cease to stand alone, and should be accompanied by the effort for better business and better living on the farm. It is at least as important that the farmer should get the largest possible return in money, comfort, and social advantages from the crops he grows, as that he should get the largest possible return in crops from the land he farms. Agriculture is not the whole of country life. The great rural interests are human interests, and good crops are of little value to the farmer unless they open the door to a good kind of life on the farm.

This problem of country life is in the truest sense a national problem. In an address delivered at the Semi-Centennial of the Founding of Agri-

cultural Colleges in the United States a year ago last May, I said:

"There is but one person whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-worker who does manual labor; and that is the tiller of the soil—the farmer. If there is one lesson taught by history it is that the permanent greatness of any State must ultimately depend more upon the character of its country population than upon anything else. No growth of cities, no growth of wealth, can make up for a loss in either the number or the character of the farming population.

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"The farm grows the raw material for the food and clothing of all our citizens; it supports directly almost half of them; and nearly half the children of the United States are born and brought up on farms. How can the life of the farm family be made less solitary, fuller of opportunity, freer from drudgery, more comfortable, happier, and more attractive? Such a result is most earnestly to be desired. How can life on the farm be kept on the highest level, and where it is not already on that level, be so improved, dignified, and brightened as to awaken and keep alive the pride and loyalty of the farmer's boys and girls, of the farmer's wife, and of the farmer himself? How can a compelling desire to live on the farm be aroused in the children that are born on the farm? All these questions are of vital importance, not only to the farmer, but to the whole Nation. * * * * * *

"We hope ultimately to double the average yield of wheat and corn per acre; it will be a great achievement; but it is even more important to double the desirability, comfort, and standing of the farmer's life."

It is especially important that whatever will serve to prepare country children for life on the farm, and whatever will brighten home life in the country and make it richer and more attractive for the mothers, wives, and daughters of farmers, should be done promptly, thoroughly, and gladly. There is no more important person, measured in influence upon the life of the Nation, than the farmer's wife, no more important home than the country home, and it is of National importance to do the best we can for both.

The farmers have hitherto had less than their full share of public attention along the lines of business and social life. There is too much belief among all our people that the prizes of life lie away from the farm. I am therefore anxious to bring before the people of the United States the question of securing better business and better living on the farm, whether by cooperation between farmers for buying, selling, and borrowing; by promoting social advantages and opportunities in the country, or by any other legitimate means that will help to make country life more gainful, more attractive, and fuller of opportunities, pleasures, and rewards for the men, women, and children of the farm.

I shall be very glad indeed if you will consent to

serve upon a Commission on Country Life, upon which I am asking the following gentlemen to act:

Professor L. H. Bailey, New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, N. Y., Chairman.

Mr. Henry Wallace, "Wallace's Farmer," Des Moines, Iowa.

President Kenyon L. Butterfield, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Mr. Gifford Pinchot, United States Forest Service.

Mr. Walter H. Page, editor of "The World's Work," New York.

My immediate purpose in appointing this Commission is to secure from it such information and advice as will enable me to make recommendations to Congress upon this extremely important matter. I shall be glad if the Commission will report to me upon the present condition of country life, upon what means are now available for supplying the deficiencies which exist, and upon the best methods of organized permanent effort in investigation and actual work along the lines I have indicated. You will doubtless also find it necessary to suggest means for bringing about the redirection or better adaptation of rural schools to the training of children for life on the farm. The National and State Agricultural Departments must ultimately join with the various farmers' and agricultural organizations in the effort to secure greater efficiency and attractiveness in country life.

In view of the pressing importance of this sub-

ject, I should be glad to have your report before the end of next December. For that reason the Commission will doubtless find it impracticable to undertake extensive investigation, but will rather confine itself to a summary of what is already known, a statement of the problem, and the recommendation of measures tending toward its solution. With the single exception of the conservation of our natural resources, which underlies the problem of rural life, there is no other material question of greater importance now before the American people. I shall look forward with the keenest interest to your report.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

PROF. L. H. BAILEY,
N. Y. State College of Agriculture,
Ithaca, N. Y.

LETTER TO CONRAD KOHRS, OF HELENA, MONTANA, IN RELATION TO THE CANDIDACY OF MR. TAFT

SAGAMORE HILL,
OYSTER BAY, N. Y., *September 9, 1908*

MY DEAR MR. KOHRS:

I have received your letter about the candidacy of Mr. Taft, the man who I feel is in an especial sense the representative of all that in which I most believe in political life.

Every good citizen should desire to see both prosperity and justice, prosperity and fair and righteous dealing as between man and man, obtain

permanently in this great Republic. As a people we are justly proud of our business industry, of our energy and intelligence in our work; and it is entirely right that we should ask ourselves as to any given course of conduct, "Will it be profitable?" But it is also no less emphatically true that the bulk of our people, the plain people who found in Abraham Lincoln their especial champion and spokesman, regard the question, "Is this morally right?" as even more important than the question, "Is this profitable?" when applied to any given course of conduct. Indeed, in the long run our people are sure to find that in all dealings, alike in the business and the political world, what is really profitable is that which is morally right. The last few years have seen a great awakening of the public conscience and the growth of a stern determination to do away with corruption and unfair dealing, political, economic, social. It is urgently necessary that this great reform movement should go on. But no reform movement is healthy if it goes on by spasms; if it is marked by periods of frenzied advance, followed, as such periods of frenzied advance must always be followed, by equally violent periods of reaction. The revolutionary and the reactionary really play into one another's hands, to the extent that each by his excesses necessarily tends to arouse such disgust, such a feeling of revolt, in the minds of quiet people, as temporarily to restore the other to power. To permit the direction of our public affairs to fall alternately into the hands of revolu-

tionaries and reactionaries, of the extreme radicals of unrest and of the bigoted conservatives who recognize no wrongs to remedy, would merely mean that the Nation had embarked on a feverish course of violent oscillation which would be fraught with great temporary trouble, and would produce no adequate good in the end. The true friend of reform, the true foe of abuses, is the man who steadily perseveres in righting wrongs, in warring against abuses, but whose character and training are such that he never promises what he cannot perform, that he always a little more than makes good what he does promise, and that, while steadily advancing, he never permits himself to be led into foolish excesses which would damage the very cause he champions. In Mr. Taft we have a man who combines all of these qualities to a degree which no other man in our public life since the Civil War has surpassed. To a flaming hatred of injustice, to a scorn of all that is base and mean, to a hearty sympathy with the oppressed, he unites entire disinterestedness, courage both moral and physical of the very highest type, and a kindly generosity of nature which makes him feel that all of his fellow-countrymen are in very truth his friends and brothers, that their interests are his, and that all his great qualities are to be spent with lavish freedom in their service. The honest man of means, the honest and law-abiding business man, can feel safe in his hands because of the very fact that the dishonest man of great wealth, the man who swindles or robs his fellows,

would not so much as dare to defend his evil-doing in Mr. Taft's presence. The honest wage-worker, the honest laboring man, the honest farmer, the honest mechanic or small trader, or man of small means, can feel that in a peculiar sense Mr. Taft will be his representative because of the very fact that he has the same scorn for the demagogue that he has for the corruptionist, and that he would front threats of personal violence from a mob with the unquailing and lofty indifference with which he would front the bitter anger of the wealthiest and most powerful corporations. Broad though his sympathies are, there is in him not the slightest tinge of weakness. No consideration of personal interest, any more than of fear for his personal safety, could make him swerve a hair's breadth from the course which he regards as right and in the interest of the whole people.

I have naturally a peculiar interest in the success of Mr. Taft, and in seeing him backed by a majority in both houses of Congress which will heartily support his policies. For the last ten years, while I have been Governor of New York and President, I have been thrown into the closest intimacy with him, and he and I have on every essential point stood in heartiest agreement, shoulder to shoulder. We have the same views as to what is demanded by the National interest and honor, both within our own borders, and as regards the relations of this Nation with other nations. There is no fight for decency and fair dealing which I have waged in which I have not had his heartiest and most effective sym-

pathy and support, and the policies for which I stand are his policies as much as mine.

It is not possible in the space of this letter to discuss all the many and infinitely varied questions of moment with which Mr. Taft as President would have to deal; let him be judged by what he has himself done, and by what the administration, in which he has played so conspicuous a part, has done. But to illustrate just what his attitude is, let me touch on two matters now prominent in the public mind.

Mr. Taft can be trusted to exact justice from the railroads for the very reason that he can be trusted to do justice to the railroads. The railroads are the chief instruments of interstate commerce in the country, and they can neither be held to a proper accountability on the one hand nor given proper protection on the other, save by the affirmative action of the Federal Government. The law as laid down by the Federal courts clearly shows that the States have not and cannot devise laws adequate to meet the problems caused by the great growth of the railroads doing an interstate commerce business, for more than four-fifths of the business of the railroads is interstate, and under the Constitution of the United States only the Federal Government can exercise control thereover. It is absolutely necessary that this control should be affirmative and thoroughgoing. All interstate business carried on by the great corporations should, in the interest of the whole people, be far more closely supervised than at present by the National Government; but this is

especially true of the railroads, which cannot exist at all save by the exercise of powers granted them on behalf of the people, and which, therefore, should be held to a peculiar accountability to the people. It is in the interest of the people that they should not be permitted to do injustice; and it is no less to the interest of the people that they should not suffer injustice. Their prime purpose is to carry the commodities of the farmers and the business men; they could not be built save for the money contributed to them by their shareholders; they could not be run at all save for the money paid out in wages to the railroad employees; and, finally, they could not be run judiciously, or profitably to any one, were it not for the employment by them of some masterful guiding intelligence, whether of one man or of a group of men. There are therefore several sets of interests to be considered. Each must receive proper consideration, and when any one of them selfishly demands exclusive consideration the demand must be refused. Along certain lines all of these groups have the same interests. It is to the interest of shipper, farmer, wage-worker, business man, honest shareholder, and honest manager alike that there should be economy, honesty, intelligence, and fair treatment of all. To put an effective stop to stock watering would be a benefit to everybody except the swindlers who profit by stock watering; it would benefit the honest shareholder because honest investments would not be brought into competition with mere paper; it would benefit

the wage-worker because when the money earned does not have to go to paying interest on watered capital more of it is left, out of which to pay wages; it would benefit the shipper because when only honest stockholders have to be paid interest, rates need not be improperly raised; it would benefit the public because there would be ample money with which to give efficient service. Similarly, the prevention of favoritism as among shippers does no damage to any one who is honest, and confers great good upon the smaller business man and the farmer, whom it relieves of oppression. Again, such supervision of accounts and management as will prevent crookedness and oppression works good, directly or indirectly, to all honest people. Therefore everything that can be done along all these lines should be done; and no man's legitimate interest would thereby be hurt. But after this point has been reached great care must be exercised not to work injustice to one class in the effort to show favor to another class, and each class naturally tends to remember only its own needs. The stockholders must receive an ample return on their investments, or the railroads cannot be built and successfully maintained; and the rates to shippers and the wages to employees, from the highest to the lowest, must all be conditioned upon this fact. On the other hand, in a public service corporation we have no right to allow such excessive profits as will necessitate rates being unduly high and wages unduly low. Again, while in all proper ways rates must be kept low, we

must always remember that we have no right and no justification to reduce them when the result is the reduction of the wages of the great army of railroad men. A fair working arrangement must be devised according to the needs of the several cases, so that profits, wages and rates shall each be reasonable with reference to the other two—and in wages I include the properly large amounts which should always be paid to those whose masterful ability is required for the successful direction of great enterprises. Combinations which favor such an equitable arrangement should themselves be favored and not forbidden by law; although they should be strictly supervised by the Government through the Interstate Commerce Commission, which should have the power of passing summarily upon not only the question of the reduction but the raising of rates.

This railroad problem is itself one of the phases of one of the greatest and most intricate problems of our civilization; for its proper solution we need not merely honesty and courage, but judgment, good sense, and entire fair-mindedness. Demagogy in such a matter is as certain to work evil as corruption itself. The man who promises to raise the wages of railroad employees to the highest point and at the same time to reduce rates to the lowest point is promising what neither he nor any one else can perform; and if the effort to perform it were attempted disaster would result to both shipper and wage-worker, and ruin to the business interests of the country. The man to trust in such a matter as this

is the man who, like Judge Taft, does not promise too much, but who could not be swayed from the path of duty by any argument, by any consideration; who will wage relentless war on the successful wrong-doer among railroad men as among all other men; who will do all that can be done to secure legitimately low rates to shippers and absolute evenness among the rates thus secured; but who will neither promise nor attempt to secure rates so low that the wage-earner would lose his earnings and the shareholder, whose money built the road, his profits. He will not favor a ruinous experiment like government ownership of railways; he will stand against any kind of confiscation of honestly acquired property; but he will work effectively for the most efficient type of government supervision and control of railways, so as to secure just and fair treatment of the people as a whole.

What is here said as to his attitude on the railway question applies to the whole question of the trusts. He will promise nothing on this subject unless he firmly believes he can make his promise good. He will go into no chimerical movement to destroy all great business combinations; for this can only be done by destroying all modern business; but he will in practical fashion do everything possible to secure such efficient control, on behalf of the people as a whole, over these great combinations as will deprive them of the power to work evil. Mr. Taft's decision in the Addystone Pipe Line case while on the bench is proof, by deeds not by words, of the far-

sighted wisdom with which he serves the interests of the whole people even when those of the most powerful corporations are hostile thereto.

If there is one body of men more than another whose support I feel I have a right to challenge on behalf of Secretary Taft it is the body of wage-workers of the country. A stancher friend, a fairer and truer representative, they cannot find within the borders of the United States. He will do everything in his power for them except to do that which is wrong; he will do wrong for no man, and therefore can be trusted by all men. During the ten years of my intimate acquaintance with him, since I have myself, as Governor and President, been obliged to deal practically with labor problems, he has been one of the men upon whose judgment and aid I could always rely in doing everything possible for the cause of the wage-worker, of the man who works with his hands, or with both hands and head.

Mr. Taft has been attacked because of the injunctions he delivered while on the bench. I am content to rest his case on these very injunctions; I maintain that they show why all our people should be grateful to him and should feel it safe to entrust their dearest interests to him. Most assuredly he never has yielded and never will yield to threat or pressure of any sort, as little if it comes from labor as if it comes from capital; he will no more tolerate the violence of a mob than the corruption and oppression and arrogance of a corporation or of a wealthy man. He will not consent to limit the

power of the courts to put a stop to wrongdoing wherever found. This very fact should make the labor people feel a peculiar confidence in him. He has incurred the bitter hostility of foolish and bigoted reactionaries by his frank criticism of the abuse of the power of injunction in labor disputes, and he is pledged to do all he can to put a stop to the abuses in the exercise of the power of injunction. He will never promise anything that he will not do all in his power to perform. He can always be trusted to do a little better than his word, and the fact that before election he will not promise the impossible is in itself a guaranty that after election all that is possible will be done.

His record as a judge makes the whole country his debtor. His actions and decisions are part of the great traditions of the bench. They guaranteed and set forth in striking fashion the rights of the general public as against the selfish interests of any class, whether of capitalists or of laborers. They set forth and stand by the rights of the wage-workers to organize and to strike, as unequivocally as they set forth and stand by the doctrine that no conduct will be tolerated that would spell destruction to the Nation as a whole. As for the attack upon his injunctions in labor disputes, made while he was on the bench, I ask that the injunctions be carefully examined. I ask that every responsible and fair-minded labor leader, every responsible and fair-minded member of a labor organization, read these injunctions for himself. If he will do so, instead

of condemning them he will heartily approve of them and will recognize this further astonishing fact that the principles laid down by Judge Taft in these very injunctions, which laboring people are asked to condemn, are themselves the very principles which are now embodied in the laws or practices of every responsible labor organization. No responsible organization would now hesitate to condemn the abuses against which Judge Taft's injunctions were aimed. The principles which he therein so wisely and fearlessly laid down serve as a charter of liberty for all of us, for wage-workers, for employers, for the general public; for they rest on the principles of fair dealing for all, of even-handed justice for all. They mark the judge who rendered them as standing for the rights of the whole people; as far as daylight is from darkness, so far is such a judge from the time-server, the truckler to the mob, or the cringing tool of great, corrupt and corrupting corporations. Judge Taft on the bench—as since, in the Philippines, in Panama, in Cuba, in the War Department—showed himself to be a wise, a fearless, and an upright servant of the whole people, whose services to the whole people were beyond all price. Moreover, let all good citizens remember that he rendered these services, not when it was easy to do so, but when lawless violence was threatened, when malice, domestic and civic disturbance threatened the whole fabric of our government and of civilization; his actions showed not only the highest kind of moral courage but of physical courage as

well, for his life was freely and violently threatened. Let all fair-minded men, wage-workers and capitalists alike, consider yet another fact. In one of his decisions upon the bench Judge Taft upheld in the strongest fashion, and for the first time gave full vitality to, the principle of the employers' liability for injuries done workmen. This was before any National law on the subject was enacted. Judge Taft's sense of right, his indignation against oppression in any form, against any attitude that is not fair and just, drove him to take a position which was violently condemned by short-sighted capitalists and employers of labor, which was so far in advance of the time that it was not generally upheld by the State courts, but which we are now embodying in the law of the land. Judge Taft was a leader, a pioneer, while on the bench, in the effort to get justice for the wage-worker, in jealous championship of his rights; and all upright and far-sighted laboring men should hold it to his credit that at the same time he fearlessly stood against the abuses of labor, just as he fearlessly stood against the abuses of capital. If elected, he has shown by his deeds that he will be President of no class, but of the people as a whole; he can be trusted to stand stoutly against the two real enemies of our democracy—against the man who to please one class would undermine the whole foundation of orderly liberty, and against the man who in the interest of another class would secure business prosperity by sacrificing every right of the working people.

I have striven as President to champion in every proper way the interests of the wage-worker; for I regard the wage-worker, excepting only the farmer, the tiller of the soil, as the man whose well-being is most essential to the healthy growth of this great Nation. I would for no consideration advise the wage-worker to do what I thought was against his interest. I ask his support for Mr. Taft exactly as I ask such support from every far-sighted and right-thinking American citizen; because I believe with all my heart that nowhere within the borders of our great country can there be found another man who will as vigilantly and efficiently as Mr. Taft support the rights of the working man as he will the rights of every man who in good faith strives to do his duty as an American citizen. He will protect the just rights of both rich and poor, and he will war relentlessly against lawlessness and injustice whether exercised on behalf of property or of labor.

On the bench Judge Taft showed the two qualities which make a great judge: wisdom and moral courage. They are also the two qualities which make a great President.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

MR. CONRAD KOHRS,
Helena, Montana.

LETTER TO HON. WM. B. McKINLEY IN SUPPORT OF THE CANDIDACY OF MR. TAFT

SAGAMORE HILL,
Oyster Bay,
September 9, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter of August 28. I agree with all that you say as to the amount of affirmative and constructive legislation for the social and economic benefit of our people which has been accomplished by the Congress during the last seven years. The law establishing a National system of irrigation was of vital importance, and stands in its line as second only to the homestead law. The interstate commerce law has been amended so as to make it a new law, with three-fold the efficiency of the old law. The enactment of the pure food law was of almost or quite equal importance. The creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor, together with the creation of a Bureau of Corporations, which marks the beginning of Federal control over the huge corporations doing an interstate business, the employers' liability law, the safety appliance law, the law limiting the working hours of railway employees, the meat inspection law, the denatured alcohol law, the anti-rebate law, the laws increasing the powers of the Department of Justice in dealing with criminals of great wealth and power, the law making the Government liable for injuries to its employees, the laws under which the Panama Canal

was acquired and is being built, the Philippines administered, and the navy developed, the laws creating a permanent Census Bureau and reforming the consular service and the system of naturalization, the law forbidding child labor in the District of Columbia, the law providing a commission under which our currency system can be put on a thoroughly satisfactory basis, the laws for the proper administration of the forest service, the laws for the admission of Oklahoma and the development of Alaska, the great appropriations for the development of agriculture, the legal prohibition of campaign contributions from corporations—all these represent but a portion of what has been done by Congress, and form a record of substantial legislative achievement in harmony with the best and most progressive thought of our people. It is urgently necessary, from the standpoint of the public interest, to elect Mr. Taft, and a Republican Congress which will support him; and they seek election on a platform which specifically pledges the party, alike in its executive and legislative branches, to continue and develop the policies which have been not merely professed but acted upon during these seven years. These policies can be successfully carried through only by the hearty cooperation of the President and the Congress in both its branches, and it is therefore peculiarly important that there should obtain such harmony between them. To fail to elect Mr. Taft would be a calamity to the country; and it would be folly, while electing him, yet at the same

time to elect a Congress hostile to him, a Congress which under the influence of partisan leadership would be certain to thwart and baffle him on every possible occasion. To elect Mr. Taft, and at the same time to elect a Congress pledged to support him, is the only way in which to perpetuate the policy of the Government as now carried on. I feel that all the aid that can be given to this policy by every good citizen should be given; for this is far more than a merely partisan matter.

Both your Committee, and the National Committee, of which Mr. Hitchcock is Chairman, are endeavoring to secure the active cooperation on the stump of Senators and Congressmen, party leaders and independent citizens generally. I most heartily join in urging the importance of such cooperation. I hope that every disinterested private citizen, whose sole concern in politics is to have the right kind of man carry out the right kind of policy, will join in backing up your Committee as well as the National Committee in this movement. No service is as effective, as valuable, as the disinterested service given in such manner by men whose one concern is for the triumph of the principles in which they believe; and I appeal with all the strength there is in me to such men to give such support.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt

Hon. Wm. B. McKinley,
Chairman, Republican Congressional Committee,
St. James Building, New York, N. Y.

IN RELATION TO THE CANDIDACY OF MR. TAFT, SEPT. 21, 1908

In view of Mr. Hearst's disclosures about Senator Foraker, I make public the following letter written by Mr. Taft on July 20, 1907, to a friend in Ohio, prominent in Ohio politics, who wrote him before the meeting of the State Central Committee asking whether he would object to the Committee passing a resolution endorsing Mr. Taft for President and Mr. Foraker for Senator, in the interest of harmony. A copy of this letter was submitted to me at the time, but after the original had been sent; it was not intended for publication; but it was understood that if necessary it should be published.

I personally know that the strongest pressure by various party leaders was brought on Mr. Taft at that time to consent to the proposed arrangement, and he was informed by leading men from other States that if he would consent to this arrangement all opposition on the part of Mr. Foraker, and on the part of some of Mr. Foraker's influential friends in the Senate and elsewhere, would cease, and that Mr. Taft's nomination for the Presidency would be assured. But Mr. Taft declined for one moment to consider any possible advantage to himself where what he regarded as a great principle was at stake. His attitude on this question, as well as on countless such questions, convinced me that of all the men in this Union, he was the man preeminently fit in point of uprightness and character, of fearless and ag-

gressive honesty, and of fitness for championing the rights of the people as a whole, to be President.

Senator Foraker has been a leader among those members of Congress of both parties who have resolutely opposed the great policies of internal reform for which the administration has made itself responsible. His attitude has been that of certain other public men, notably (as shown in this same correspondence published by Mr. Hearst) Governor Haskell of Oklahoma. There is a striking difference in one respect, however, in the present positions of Governor Haskell and Senator Foraker. Governor Haskell stands high in the councils of Mr. Bryan, and is the treasurer of his national campaign committee.

Senator Foraker represents only the forces which in embittered fashion fought the nomination of Mr. Taft, and which were definitely deprived of power within the Republican party when Mr. Taft was nominated. The publication of this correspondence not merely justifies in striking fashion the action of the administration, but also casts a curious sidelight on the attacks made upon the administration both in the Denver convention, which nominated Mr. Bryan, and in the course of Mr. Bryan's campaign. There is but one way to preserve and perpetuate the great reforms, the great advances in righteousness and upright and fair dealing, which have marked the management of the affairs of the National Government during the last seven years; and that is by electing Mr. Taft. To defeat him

will bring lasting satisfaction to but one set of men, namely, to those men who as shown in the correspondence published by Mr. Hearst, were behind Mr. Foraker, the opponent of Mr. Taft within his own party, and who now are behind Governor Haskell and his associates, the opponents of Mr. Taft in the opposite party.

The great and sinister moneyed interests which have shown such hostility to the administration, and now to Mr. Taft, have grown to oppose the administration on various matters not connected with those which mark the real point of difference. For instance, the entire agitation over Brownsville was in large part not a genuine agitation on behalf of colored men at all, but merely one phase of the effort by the representatives of certain law-defying corporations to bring discredit upon the administration because it was seeking to cut out the evils connected not only with the corrupt use of wealth, but especially with the corrupt alliance between certain business men of large fortune and certain politicians of great influence. The venomous hostility of these interests, and of their special representatives in public life and in the press, to the nomination of Mr. Taft, was merely the natural sequence of their hostility to the measures of the administration for the regulation of great corporations doing an interstate business, and to the attitude of the administration in consistently prosecuting all offenders of great wealth, precisely as it has prosecuted all other offenders. Mr. Taft has been nominated for the

very reason that he is the antithesis of the forces that were responsible for Mr. Foraker.

The letter of Mr. Taft is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON
POINTE-AU-PIC, CANADA,
July 20, 1907

My dear Mr.

In respect to one inquiry of yours, I wish to express myself with as much emphasis as possible, and that is whether I would object to a compromise resolution which shall include an endorsement of myself for the Presidency, and Senator Foraker for the Senatorship. In my judgment it would be not only a great mistake—something more. It would be accepted necessarily as a compromise on my behalf, and, therefore, with my acquiescence, or at least with the acquiescence of my friends, for whose action I am more or less responsible. It would totally misrepresent my position. I don't care for the Presidency if it has to come by compromise with Senator Foraker or any one else on a matter of principle. He has opposed the vital policies and principles of the Administration and in his opposition has seized upon and magnified an important but incidental matter to embarrass the Administration, using in this, without scruple, a blind race prejudice to accomplish his main purpose. If I was confronted with a mere factional difference within the party, not involving a subject which must come up for consideration and action by the next Republican National Convention, I should not be so emphatic in my conclusion. It is

not on my part a question of personal feeling with respect to Senator Foraker. It is really a question of political principle. In respect to this, the Legislature of Ohio expressed what I believe to be the sentiment of the people of Ohio in a resolution asking the Senators to support the rate bill. Senator Foraker declined to follow this resolution. When the issue is whether he shall be returned, it must be determined, if this is to be a representative form of government, not by the question whether he has followed his conscience, but by the question whether he really represents the principles that his constituents desire supported and put into practice. The issue really is whether the Republicans of Ohio, therefore, as the constituents of either a Senator or a Presidential candidate, support the main policies maintained by the Administration, or the opposition to those policies. Representing the policies of the Administration, I cannot stultify myself by acquiescence in any proposed compromise which necessarily involves the admission that the Republicans of Ohio regard this fundamental difference of opinion as of no importance and one that can be waived in the interest of party harmony or the settlement of factional differences. There isn't the slightest doubt that the next National Convention of the Republican party will sustain in full the vital and main principles maintained by President Roosevelt, and will express no sympathy with the opposition represented by Senator Foraker. Because I believe in these principles and because in my judgment the

Republicans of the State and Nation are overwhelmingly in favor of them, I cannot favor any action by members of the committee who do me the honor to support me and wish to aid me which will have the appearance of acquiescence by me in the proposed compromise. Very sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

I publish this letter without Mr. Taft's knowledge, because I feel it my duty to the public that his attitude should be known. The man who unhesitatingly resists temptation, who cannot be swerved by any consideration of personal interest from following the course which his lofty conception of duty dictates to him, the man whose whole concern is for the welfare of the people, and who has proved in a lifetime of difficult and useful public service his extraordinary capacity as an administrator, is surely the man of all others to be entrusted with the Presidency. Mr. Taft's candidacy is not based upon large and vague promises, part of which would be impossible of achievement and part of which would be absolutely mischievous to the people of the whole country if put into effect. His candidacy is based upon his great record of actual achievement, his great record of service to the public, upon his inflexible adherence to the highest standards of righteousness, and upon his proved and absolute fearlessness in relentlessly warring against evil wherever it may be found. I appeal to all good citizens, to all high-minded, conscientious men who love their country,

for the sake of their country to put such a man at its head. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SAGAMORE HILL, OYSTER BAY,
September 21, 1908.

LETTER TO HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN CONCERNING GOVERNOR HASKELL AND THE STANDARD OIL INTERESTS

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
September 23, 1908

DEAR SIR:

In your telegram you speak of so much of the charge against Governor Haskell as dealt with his relations, while in Ohio, with the Standard Oil Company. You omit the charge as to his relations with the Standard Oil interests, as shown by his action while Governor of Oklahoma, this very summer, this action being in part taken while he was at Denver, where, as you state, he was by your wish made chairman of the committee which drafted the platform upon which you are standing. In my statement I purposely made no specific allusion to the Ohio matter, and shall at this time make none, in spite of its significance, and in spite of the further fact that Governor Haskell's close relations with the Standard Oil interests while he was in Ohio was a matter of common notoriety. In Oklahoma it is a matter of court record. By this court record it appears that the Attorney General of the State, elected by the people, obtained an injunction to prevent the Prairie Oil and Gas Company from building a pipe line; and that Governor Haskell found this out while he was at Denver, as appears by the representation

for the dissolution of the injunction made in his name on behalf of the State before a court of superior jurisdiction to that which had issued the injunction. In this the Governor states that the Acting Governor, in his absence, had asked that the hearing be postponed until he, the Governor, might return and have an opportunity to investigate the controversy. The Governor sets forth in his petition that he is the sole authority to determine such matters, and that the Attorney General and the judge of the lower court had no right in the matter, and that the action of the judge of the lower court represented "an encroachment by the judiciary." The Attorney General opposed the dissolution of the injunction, stating that the Prairie Oil and Gas Company was a foreign corporation which had not accepted the provisions of the constitution applicable to such corporations, and that without authority of law it was employing a great force of men and teams to dig up, across and into various highways of the State for the purpose of laying its pipe lines. The Governor prevailed, the injunction was suspended, and the pipe line was permitted to continue its work, to use the words of the Attorney General, "without any color of law." I call your attention to the fact that the question is whether or not the judge erred, or whether the injunction was proper? The point is that the Governor was alert to take out of the hands of the Attorney General what the Attorney General felt was his sworn duty to prevent, an alleged instance of

the breaking of the laws by this particular great corporation.

As far as I have seen Governor Haskell has not even attempted anything which can be called a defence of this action of his. It thus appears that his action was as inexcusable as it was wanton, except on the theory that in defiance of the Attorney General of the State and at all hazards he intended for some reasons of his own to protect the interests of a great corporation against the law. It has been suggested on his behalf that, after all, he did not favor the Standard Oil Company but merely the Prairie Oil and Gas Company. This claim is disposed of by the testimony of the Standard Oil Company itself taken in the latter part of 1907 in the suit now pending before the United States court at St. Louis against the Standard Oil Company. In this testimony the Standard Oil Company, upon being required by the Government to put in a list of all the companies in which it held stock, or in which its subsidiary companies held stock, reported among the others the Prairie Oil and Gas Company, total capital $10,000,000, of which the National Transit Company's proportion was $9,999,500; and furthermore it appears that the National Transit Company had a capital stock of $25,455,200, of which the Standard Oil Company owned $25,451,650. In other words, this Prairie Oil and Gas Company was owned, all except $500, by the National Transit Company, and this National Transit Company was owned, all except about $3,550, by the Standard Oil Company.

Now contrast your action in this case of Governor Haskell with Mr. Taft's action as regards Senator Foraker, as set forth in his letter of July 20, 1907, which I quoted in my statement. It was a matter of common notoriety about Senator Foraker, as it has long been a matter of common notoriety about Governor Haskell, that he was the defender and supporter of certain great corporate interests and therefore hostile to the policies for which this administration has stood. There was no such convincing proof against Senator Foraker at that time, however, as there was against Governor Haskell, when, as you say, he was with your approval made treasurer of your campaign committee. But Mr. Taft refused to be a party to the renomination of Senator Foraker, even though it was represented that only thus could he advance his own interests, showing by actual deeds that his words were true when he said, "I do not care for the Presidency if it has to come by compromise with anyone on a matter of principle." With a hundred-fold clearer evidence before you as to the connection of Governor Haskell with the Standard Oil than Mr. Taft then had as to the connection of Senator Foraker with any corporation, you nevertheless, having secured Governor Haskell as chairman of the committee to write the platform on which you stand, put him in as treasurer of your campaign committee.

Let me add that Governor Haskell's utter unfitness for any public position of trust, or for association with any man anxious to make an appeal on a

moral issue to the American people, has been abundantly shown wholly irrespective of this action of his in connection with the Standard Oil interests. As an American citizen who prizes his Americanism and his citizenship far above any question of partisanship, I regard it as a scandal and a disgrace that Governor Haskell should be connected with the management of any national campaign. I have not the space in this letter to discuss Governor Haskell's conduct, for instance, in vetoing the child labor bill; or the fact that his name appears as one of the defendants in various suits brought by the Government to prevent the Creek Indians from having certain of their lands fraudulently taken; or his connection with various other matters of the kind; but let me call your attention to his conduct in prostituting to base purposes the State University as set forth in an article in "The Outlook" of September 5th last under the heading of "Shall the People Rule—in Oklahoma?" In this article you will see that Governor Haskell was given full opportunity to make every explanation, and that he made none. After setting forth the facts as to Governor Haskell's conduct, "The Outlook" article concludes as follows:

"On this state of affairs we have two comments to make and two questions to ask.

"The people of Oklahoma are taxed to support their educational institutions, from the primary school to the university. They pay their money to have their children educated. When the politicians

use this money to promote the interests of a political machine or a Church sect, they are guilty of a breach of trust. What do the taxpayers of Oklahoma think of the use which their public servants are making of the public funds? What do they think about this financial policy—the taking of the money due their sons and daughters and diverting it for the benefit of politicians, ecclesiastical and civil?

Governor Haskell was one of Mr. Bryan's right-hand men in the Democratic Convention, and, at Mr. Bryan's instance, has been made treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. It is appalling to think what would be the results in the educational systems of the Philippines and Porto Rico, in the digging of the Panama Canal, in the work of irrigation and reforestation, in the administration of the Post-Office, the Interior and Agricultural Departments, in the appointments of foreign ministers and consuls, if the spirit which has actuated the Democratic authorities in the State of Oklahoma should be permitted to take control of the Federal Government at Washington. Governor Haskell, by actions which speak louder than words, has declared his disbelief in Grover Cleveland's motto, "A public office is a public trust." And Mr. Haskell is a representative leader in the Bryan Democracy. What does Mr. Bryan think of Mr. Cleveland's principle? What do the American people think of Mr. Haskell's contemptuous reversal of it?

You close your telegram by saying that you expect and will demand fair and honorable treatment from

those who are in charge of the Republican campaign. I am not in charge of the campaign, but am greatly interested in it. I have shown you above fairly and honorably that Governor Haskell is a man who, on every account I have named, is unworthy of any position in our public life. No further investigation of these facts is required. They are spread on the record before you, and they were available before Mr. Haskell was chosen for his position as treasurer. You also say that you will not permit any responsible member of the Republican organization to misrepresent the attitude of your party in the present campaign. You will have no difficulty in getting me to represent it aright, for my sole anxiety is that the people of the country shall understand this attitude clearly, and shall then condemn it as it should be condemned. You say that you have advocated more radical measures against private monopolies than either I or my party associates have been willing to undertake. You have indeed advocated measures that sound more radical, but they have the prime defect that in practice they would not work. I should not in this letter to you discuss your attitude on this question if you did not yourself bring it up; but as you have brought it up, I answer you that in my judgment the measures you advocate would be wholly ineffective in curing a single evil, and so far as they had any effect at all, would merely throw the entire business of the country into hopeless and utter confusion.

I put Mr. Taft's deeds against your words. I ask that Mr. Taft be judged by all his deeds, for he wishes none of them forgotten. I ask that you be judged both by the words you wish remembered, and by the words that seemingly you and your party now desire to have forgotten. I ask that your present plan for regulating the trusts be judged in connection with your past utterances that you did not believe in their regulation but in their destruction; and again in connection with your past utterances to the effect that only Government ownership by a complicated National and State system of railroads would avail; and again by your past utterances when you proposed to remedy all the sufferings of our people by a depreciated currency. For several years now I have been steadfastly fighting to secure thoroughgoing and far-reaching control in the interests of the public over the great business combinations which do an interstate business. In this effort I have been as much hampered by the extremists, well-meaning or otherwise, who demanded visionary and impracticable radicalism, as by those other extremists, no less dangerous, who stand for the reactionary refusal to remedy any grievance. One side, the side on which I am obliged to say you have placed yourself, has shown itself to be just as much the enemy of progress as the other. I hold it entirely natural for any great law-defying corporation to wish to see you placed in the Presidency rather than Mr. Taft. Your plans to put a stop to the abuses of these corporations are wholly chi-

merical; how chimerical your last plan is you will yourself see if you read Governor Hughes's speech at Youngstown, Ohio. To recall to your mind what Governor Hughes said, I quote as follows:

"When we consider these (proposed) remedies (of Mr. Bryan against the Trusts) . . . we find ourselves journeying in a land of dreams. Again the magician of 1896 waves his wand. At a stroke difficulties disappear and the complex problems of modern business are forgotten in the fascination of the simple panacea." The most important proposal of Mr. Bryan is "that any manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce shall be required to take out a Federal License before it shall be permitted to control as much as twenty-five per cent of the product in which it deals," and no corporation shall be permitted to control "more than fifty per cent of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States."

It might be interesting to inquire what is the meaning of "any product consumed in the United States." Does it refer to a class of commodities? And if so, how shall the classes be defined? Or does it refer to each separate article of commerce? And if so, what account does this proposal take of the skill and initiative of manufacturers who have built up a more or less exclusive trade in particular articles, often protected by trade-marks, although in most active competition with other articles designed for the same general purpose and seeking the same market? In a desire to correct the evils of business

are we to place an embargo upon honest endeavor whose activities present none of the abuses requiring remedies? And, if not, what statutory definitions shall be found to be adequate and just if we lay down our prohibition in terms of volume or ratio of business and not in terms of right and wrong? If we adopt Mr. Bryan's proposal, to what period of production is the prohibition to apply? Is the excess for a day or for a month to be considered? Or is the average production for a year to be taken? And what system shall be devised by which suitable information may be furnished in the nature of danger signals along the routes of trade so that the manufacturer may know when he is about to exceed the prescribed ratio? He may justly be required to govern his own conduct, but how shall he be apprised of the conduct of others upon which is to depend his guilt or innocence?

Let me repeat that no law-defying corporation has anything to fear from you save what it will suffer in the general paralysis of business which any attempt on your part to reduce to practice what you have advocated would bring. This paralysis would affect the wageworker, the farmer, the small business man, more than it would affect the great business man. But it would affect the latter, too. Therefore I hope and believe that all far-sighted citizens who wish to see this country prosper in material things will support Mr. Taft. But above all I ask for support for him because he stands for the moral uplift of the nation, because his deeds have

made good his words, and because the policies to which he is committed are of immeasurable consequence alike to the honor and the interest of the whole American people.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,
Lincoln, Neb.

LETTER TO HON. WM. J. BRYAN CONCERNING GOVERNOR HASKELL

September 27, 1908.

DEAR SIR:

I have seen your letter published in this morning's papers. As to most of what you say about me personally I do not regard any answer as necessary. When you say that I am unfair to your platform you reiterate certain opinions as to which I had quoted with my hearty approval Governor Hughes in my first letter; and these, therefore, it is also unnecessary to answer. You have not answered the Hughes speech; and in my judgment you do well not to make the attempt. You say that your platform declares in favor of the vigorous enforcement of the law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and that the platform upon which Mr. Taft stands makes no such declaration. It was not necessary. That platform approved the policies of this administration and promised to continue them; and here, as usual, I have only to compare your words with the deeds of the administration and of Mr.

Taft. You merely promise in your platform that you intend to do just what this administration has actually done and is doing.

To show the difference between deeds and words I will compare the record of this administration with the record of one of your most prominent supporters at the moment, Mr. Olney, Attorney General under the last Democratic administration. While Mr. Olney was Attorney General no cases whatever were brought under the anti-trust law, against combinations of capital, the only new cases which he brought being directed against combinations of workingmen. During that entire administration the only cases brought against combinations of capital under the anti-trust act were four in number, two of which were unsuccessful; one of the other two being the case which was decided by Judge Taft in favor of the Government.

Under this administration a mass of such cases have been brought, including the case against the Northern Securities Company;

Against the beef packers;

Against the Federal Salt Company;

Against the General Paper Company;

Against the Otis and other Elevator Companies;

Against the American Tobacco Company;

Against the Powder Trust;

Against the Virginia Carolina Chemical Company;

Against the Standard Oil Company, and others.

In a number of these cases the government has

already succeeded by injunctions and otherwise. Some of the cases are now pending. In hardly any important case against great law-breaking corporations has the government yet suffered final defeat.

As regards suits to suppress railway abuses; under the last Democratic administration there were no indictments against shippers for receiving rebates or secret rates. Under my administrations there have been forty-nine indictments for secret rebates, resulting in eighteen convictions; and in only four cases have those indictments failed. The other twenty-seven cases are still pending. Among the railroads which have been convicted are Chicago and Alton; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy; The New York Central; the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, and the Chicago, Milwaukee and Saint Paul; while scores of cases are still pending against other leading railroads.

Among the shippers that have been convicted are some of the greatest corporations in the United States; as, for instance, the American Sugar Company, the aggregate fine actually paid being more than $150,000; Swift and Company; Armour Packing Company; the Cudahy Packing Company; Nelson, Morris and Company, each of whom was fined $15,000, and the cases have now been carried to the Supreme Court. The Standard Oil Case is still pending. This is a record of actual achievement, and beside it mere promises are empty indeed; and they would not be made now with any possibility of

performance resulting, if it were not for the achievement above recited.

You state that the Steel Company, with my express consent, purchased one of its largest rivals, and thus obtained control of over fifty per cent of the total output. This action of the Steel Company (which increased its share of the total output by only about four per cent and in no way altered the standing of the Company under the law) may have been a violation of your plan, the absurdity of which has been exposed by Governor Hughes. But there was no violation of the law. I was cognizant of the entire transaction. It was not entered into by the Steel Corporation of its own desire, but solely at the urgent requests of the corporation purchased and of the big banks holding the corporation's securities, in order to enable them to prevent a crash which would have turned the panic of last fall into the most widespread disaster. I should indeed have been derelict in my duty if I had not shouted, and efficiently used all the power of the government, where it could be legally and properly used (as it was in this case) to see that the panic was kept within the smallest possible radius and the damage caused as slight as possible. You would better understand the principle on which I acted if you would rid yourself of the idea that I am trying to discriminate for or against any man or corporation because he or it is either wealthy or not wealthy. I regard such discrimination in either direction as utterly incompatible with a spirit of honesty and fair dealing.

I base my distinctions on conduct, not on relative wealth. When the same men who were leaders in the Steel Corporation acted in connection with the Northern Securities suit in a manner which I regarded as contrary to the law, by my direction a successful suit was immediately undertaken against them. If they violate the law in connection with any act of the Steel Corporation I will immediately proceed against them. Until they do violate the law they will be treated precisely as any other corporation, great or small, which obeys the law, is treated.

I treat each man and each corporation with a view solely to whether he or it is acting rightly on a given occasion. Let me give you an example. I have proceeded against the corporations of which Mr. E. H. Harriman is the head on certain points where I believe they have violated the law. But when in connection with the breaking of the Salton Sea dam one of the Harriman corporations repaired the dam, I last winter did everything I could to have Congress reimburse Mr. Harriman for so much of the obligation as I felt ought to come upon the United States. I would hold myself unfit to be President if, because I prosecuted Mr. Harriman where I thought he had broken the law, I yet hesitated to do him justice where I thought the facts required that justice should be done him. In exactly the same way I have acted and shall act as regards the Steel Corporation.

You ask me to name a single official connected with a law-defying corporation who has declared

or will declare that he is supporting you. In a St. Louis paper which reaches me at the same time that the papers containing this published letter of yours, I find a statement from Judge Henry S. Priest, Attorney for the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, the western subsidiary or representative of the Standard Oil Company, in which he announces that he is for Bryan and states that Wall Street believes that Bryan will be elected. In response to the question as to whether he could quote any of the Standard Oil magnates as feeling that way, he answered: "I did not say I saw any of the officials of the Standard Oil Company. I am giving you what I found was the drift of opinion among well posted politicians as well as bankers. . . . I guess Governor Haskell is all right. They have not proved anything on him, have they?" The newspaper clipping goes on to say that "Judge Priest was one of the lawyers who fought Attorney-General Hadley in the State's ouster suit against the Waters-Pierce and Republic Oil Companies. His legal practice is chiefly with the big corporations and his firm is counsel for the United Railways Company and the North American interests in St. Louis. Judge Priest is credited with originating the phrase: 'Bribery is a conventional offense,' which he used in an argument at the trial of R. M. Snyder, the Kansas City millionaire, now dead."

You say that the trust magnates know their own interests and are supporting Judge Taft. So far as their interests are simply the interests of the

business community, and especially of the wage-workers, I believe they will support Judge Taft. So far as they have special interests which are to them more important than the general business welfare, I believe they will support you. I base this belief upon what happened in 1896. Your success then would, in my belief, have been a calamity for the country from the standpoint of the welfare of the business men, farmers, and workingmen, just as, in my belief, your success now would be a calamity to the country both from the standpoint of business and especially of the interests of the wage-worker) and from the standpoint of morals. One of your supporters, the New York "World," in February last printed a list of contributions to your campaign fund of 1896, containing the names of individuals and corporations owning silver mines who made contributions to the aggregate amount of $288,000, one of these contributions being of $159,000 and another of $45,000, etc., etc. Now all the great financial magnates who then contributed to your campaign fund would have preferred business prosperity to business adversity, other things being equal; but they would rather have had the immense profit that would have accrued to them from the free coinage of the fifty cent dollar than the smaller profit which would have accrued to them merely from the general industrial prosperity of the country. Because of their personal interests and against the interests of the community at large these "trust" magnates then supported you. My belief is, and the

statement of Judge Priest quoted above, and the attitude of many men of large financial interests warrant me in expressing the belief, that those trust magnates whose fear of being prosecuted under the law by Mr. Taft, is greater than their fear of general business adversity under you, will support you and not Mr. Taft.

I now come to what you have to say as to contributions, and here you furnish your own answer. You state that it appears from the published statement of the contribution to Mr. Hughes's campaign for Governor two years ago that various men of wealth, some of them connected with big corporations whom you name, to the number of nine, contributed from $20,000 to $500 apiece. You ask "Would the fact that these gentlemen contributed to this campaign fund strengthen or weaken his testimony against the reasonableness of our anti-trust remedy?" And later you continue by asking "Are you willing to say that any public interest was served in 1904 by concealing until after election the contributions made to the Republican Campaign Committee by Mr. Harriman, and those collected by him for others? Are you willing to say that the publication before election of the contributions then made would have had no effect on the election?" You then propose to publish the names of contributors before election and ask us to do the same.

The amounts you mention as contributed to Mr. Hughes are utterly trivial compared to the amounts I have already mentioned as contributed to your

campaign in 1896; but in my judgment the amount contributed has nothing whatever to do with the point at issue. The question was, for instance, whether Mr. Clark of Montana, when he contributed heavily to your campaign fund, had a proper motive, and whether your actions would or would not have been influenced properly or improperly by that contribution; and the same question applies to Mr. Hughes and to me. In the case of Mr. Hughes and myself the answer is fortunately easy. You have nothing to do but examine our records in the offices to which we were both elected. You either know or ought to have known before writing that in not one instance has Mr. Hughes, as Governor, done one thing of any kind, sort or description for any one of the contributors you mention, or for any other contributor to his fund, which ought not to have been done, and would not have been done if no contribution had been made. Yet you clearly imply that he is and has been improperly influenced by the fact of these contributions having been made. Do you consider such an implication either straightforward or sincere?

In a letter to the Chairman of my campaign committee on October 26, 1904, I specifically approved of the conditions under which the National Committee were accepting contributions, saying that their acceptance was to be "with the explicit understanding that they were given and received with no thought of any more obligation on the part of the National Committee or of the national administra-

tion than is implied in the statement that every man shall receive a square deal, no more and no less, and that this I shall guarantee him in any event to the best of my ability. . . . If they subscribe for the purpose of securing such national welfare, and with no thought of personal favors to them, why they are acting as is entirely proper." I continued: "In returning the money to them (any contributors) I wish it made clear that there is not the slightest personal feeling against them, and that they can count upon being treated exactly as well by the administration, exactly as fairly, as if we had accepted the contributions. They shall not suffer in any way because we refused them, just as they would not have gained in any way if we had accepted them." No member of the National Committee has ever directly or indirectly suggested to me that I should either do or leave undone anything whatever because any one had contributed or had failed to contribute.

These are the facts. Now for your proposal. You have yourself furnished its condemnation. You have quoted the subscriptions furnished to Governor Hughes as giving reason to distrust Governor Hughes's attitude toward corporations, and I am obliged to say that this cannot be sincere on your part, for you know well what the Governor's attitude has been throughout his term. You quote the subscription of Mr. Harriman to my campaign, although you know well that it did not interfere with any action taken by me as against Mr. Harri-

man, and ask if it would not have affected the campaign if known. Thereby you have furnished an excellent reason for refusing to meet your proposal; for you make it evident that to adopt your proposal would give to every man who cared merely for partisan success, the chance, by precisely the argument you have now made, to create to more purpose the false impression that you are now seeking to create. Mr. Taft's reputation, Mr. Taft's acts on the bench and in the executive service, show that he could not be swayed in any shape or way by any consideration save the public interest, and that the fact of any man's contributing or failing to contribute would in any way influence his action, any more than it has influenced my action or the action of Governor Hughes. I emphatically approve of the publication of campaign expenses after the election, whether provided for by law or not You have shown by this letter of yours that if the contributions to Mr. Hughes's campaign fund had been made public before election you and those who act with you would have striven to give the false impression that Mr. Hughes was unfit to be entrusted with the position of Governor; and you have shown by this letter of yours that if Mr. Harriman's contribution to the campaign fund of 1904 (and incidentally, I may mention that I am informed that this particular contribution was not used for the National campaign at all, but in the New York State campaign) had been made known before the election, you and your supporters would have endeavored to use the

fact of its having been made as an insincere and untruthful argument to show that I could not be trusted to deal out exact justice to Mr. Harriman. No stronger argument against your proposition has yet been advanced than this that you have thus unconsciously advanced.

I now come to the important part of your letter, your attitude toward Mr. Haskell. You state that Mr. Haskell has voluntarily resigned from the committee. You speak highly of the public service which he has rendered, and protest against any condemnation of him except such as may come in a court. Out of your own mouth you are condemned. You thereby set up that standard of "law honesty" which has been the bane of this people in endeavoring to get equity and fair dealing—as they should obtain among high-minded men—from great business corporations, and from individuals like Mr. Haskell. Apparently you disclaim even asking Mr. Haskell to retire from the position in which you placed him, so that he retires of his own free will; and you utter no word of condemnation of his gross offences against public decency and honesty. On the contrary, you strive to make it appear that his misconduct in reference to the Standard Oil Company is all of which he is accused; whereas, shameless though this particular act of his is, it is no worse than countless others in his career. I contrast your action in this case with that of Mr. Taft in reference to Senator Foraker. Mr. Taft's statement when the question of his nomination was at stake

was that he would rather not accept it at the price of sacrificing principle by supporting Mr. Foraker for Senator. You do not venture in so much as the lightest possible manner even to censure Mr. Haskell for his manifold misdeeds; and you ask that he be held guiltless of them unless convicted in a court of law; although you well know that as regards the worst of them no action in a court of law would lie. You say you were ignorant of Mr. Haskell's record. If so it was wilful ignorance on your part. I call your attention to the letter of Mr. L. T. Russell, the editor of the "Morning Democrat," of Ardmore, Oklahoma, in which, writing to you on September 24, 1908, he states:

"If you were ignorant of such charges it is because you refused to read them when presented to you when you visited Oklahoma last fall in the interest of Candidate Haskell. At that time I personally presented to you ten typewritten pages of charges against Mr. Haskell, covering his operations in Ohio, New York, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. . . . The charges recently made by Mr. Hearst were all made by me at that time."

You ask that we leave the courts to deal with Mr. Haskell. As to some matters the courts have already dealt with him. As to others, various private individuals whom he has wronged, and the United States Government on behalf of helpless Indians whom he has wronged, are striving to have the courts so deal with him. Mr. M. L. Mott, Na-

tional Attorney for the Creek Nation, writes me as follows:

"In October, 1906, Mr. Foulke, of Richmond, Indiana, was sent to investigate the matter of the town site frauds in the Creek Nation. Mr. Foulke's report is in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior. All parties connected with these town site frauds have used the same means and methods. Upon the report filed by Mr. Foulke I as attorney for the Creek Nation was directed by the Secretary of the Interior to file suits in equity for the cancellation of all deeds to town lots in the Creek Nation where the same had been secured by fraud. Proceeding upon instructions and after full investigation, I found that Governor C. N. Haskell, among others, had secured deeds to quite a number of lots in Muskogee by conspiracy and fraud; that he had had these lots scheduled in the name of 'dummies' or 'straw' men who lived in the State of Ohio and elsewhere, and then had them quit-claim back to him without consideration. By this dishonest means he succeeded in getting deeds to a large number of lots belonging to the Creek Indians at one-half their appraised value. I have filed quite a number of suits against Governor Haskell in which conspiracy and fraud is charged and the manner of consummating it is set out in detail. Haskell has not filed any answer in any of these cases. He has simply through his attorney filed dilatory motions, such as demurrers, pleading to the jurisdiction, etc. He dare not answer and deny the allegations

set up in our bill; such an answer would be a sworn lie and known to be by the large number of 'straw' men and 'dummies' he used in perfecting the fraud."

For this particular act of the man whose public record you endorse, you may rest assured that the Interior Department will endeavor to see that the courts do "justice" to him.

When Mr. Haskell was in New York various judgments were filed against him. I will not at the moment discuss the charges of perjury and fraud made against him by Attorney Albert H. Walker, of New York, in connection with the suit decided by Judge Lacombe in March, 1902. But the records of the County Clerk of New York County show that on February 21, 1900, a judgment for damages and costs amounting to $42,235.43, recovered in the Supreme Court of the County, was filed against Charles N. Haskell. On April 2, 1900, this judgment was returned on the Sheriff's execution satisfied to the extent of only $29.80, and the remainder of it remains still unsatisfied. In this instance your proposal that Mr. Haskell be left to the courts does not seem to have produced thoroughgoing justice. Neither shall I touch upon the various suits of all kinds now pending against him for all kinds of reasons. Thus, it is reported in the press under date of September 19, 1908, that a $500 judgment had been obtained against Mr. Haskell by an attorney of Arkansas who was employed by him "to lobby before the city council of Muskogee to get through a franchise. The attorney's fee was

never paid, but the franchise was granted." Nor again shall I touch upon the facsimile published in the press of September 25th last, showing Mr. Haskell's having three years ago joined an organization to prevent union labor from entering the city in which he lived. Indeed as regards this last statement I wish distinctly to acquit Mr. Haskell of being opposed on principle to either trade unions or corporations; for I wish to acquit him of being opposed on principle to anything.

Now as to Governor Haskell's connection with the Standard Oil Company in Oklahoma.

Governor Haskell advances the fact that the United States Government permitted the Standard Oil Company on the same terms as any and all other companies to enjoy the legal privileges to which it was entitled on the Indian reservations of Oklahoma, as his justification for having given it illegal privileges to which it was not entitled in the State of Oklahoma. The excuse furnishes the measure of Governor Haskell's moral quality. The Federal act of March 11, 1904, conferred upon the Secretary of the Interior the right to grant permits for oil and gas pipe-lines to cross Indian reservations. Regulations to carry out the law were drawn up by the Indian Office and approved by the Secretary of the Interior April 12, 1904. In compliance with the law and the regulations the Department of the Interior permitted the Standard Oil pipe-line company (the Prairie Oil and Gas Company) and the various rival pipe-line companies (such as the Oklahoma

Natural Gas Company, the Cary River Gas Company, the Dens Portland Cement Company, and others, including Texas and Gulf companies), all on the same terms and under the same conditions, the right of way across the Indian reservations. No preference or privilege was granted to any company that was not also granted to all the others. Any other action than that actually taken by the Interior Department would have been as grossly improper as the actions of Governor Haskell himself. The Government stood neither for nor against any company; but it required each to obey the law. Its action was precisely like the action which it took for instance, in proceeding against the Standard Oil Company in the rebate matter; it did not thus proceed because the Standard Oil Company was involved, but because rebates had been granted; it would have proceeded just as quickly against the rivals of the Standard Oil as against the Standard Oil itself. Our only concern was to punish any guilty party. Our effort is to do equal justice to all, and to exact justice from all alike. We are no more to be swayed from this course by desire to punish a corporation than by desire to favor it, no matter whether it is the Standard Oil or any other. The permit of the National Government, as set forth in the telegram of the Secretary of the Interior to Governor Haskell of April 23, last, was merely to cross or use the restricted allotments and tribal property of the Indians; it had nothing to do with the question of compliance with the laws of the

State of Oklahoma, and conferred no privilege to cross territory in Oklahoma outside of these reservations. Governor Haskell refuses to permit any proceedings to be taken against the Standard Oil Company although this company declines to obey the law of Oklahoma. He claims that the Standard Oil's rights were superior to the requirements of the Oklahoma constitution, for which he was himself mainly responsible; he took the decision of this question away from the courts, and, against the opinion of his Attorney-General, he decided it in favor of the Standard Oil Corporation. The Attorney-General of Oklahoma has made the following statement in this matter:

"The President's statement as to the Prairie Oil and Gas Company suit is less than the whole matter in its whole iniquity, because on the 23d of April I had informed the Governor that the action taken by the Prairie Company was illegal and should be enjoined and that I had an open injunction suit. At that time, April 23d, the Governor agreed with me as to the legality of the action and approved the bringing of the injunction.

"The same day the Governor left the State to go to Denver the Prairie Company started its trespass. This, I believe, was prearranged between the Governor and the Prairie Company, as the Prairie Company rushed the laying of its pipe-line during the absence of the Governor from the State.

"I wired the Governor on the first of July, asking whether he had given the Prairie Oil Company per-

mission to build their line. His reply evaded my sole question, and, instead of answering it, he said that he was satisfied that the Prairie Company would not violate the law.

"Between the 22d of April and the 2d of July Governor Haskell received no advice from me, as his legal adviser, as to the matter, and if he had received advice from his assistant Attorney-General he did not do me the honor of submitting the same to me.

"When he heard of the bringing of the suit he directed the Acting Governor to order me to dismiss the suit and indulged in insolent language to the effect that he would not tolerate any proceedings by me except at his direction. The use of this insulting language regarding me, together with his sudden change of heart between April and July, evidences that some very deep and controlling motive of a personal nature was back of his action.

"The only person that the prohibitions could help was the Standard Oil Company, and that he hazarded as much as he did for them as he did after his sudden change of heart supplies the necessary factor for any intelligent man to reckon whether the Governor of Oklahoma has a leaning toward the Standard Oil Company; and therefore the President's statement seems to me a very mild rebuke."

"CHARLES E. WEST,
"ATTORNEY-GENERAL
of Oklahoma."

The National Government, obeying both the law and the principles of sound morality, discriminated neither for nor against either the Standard Oil Company or its rivals. Governor Haskell, against the law and against every principle of honesty and fair dealing, discriminated in favor of the Standard Oil Corporation. Failure to see the distinction between the two cases indicates moral obliquity rather than mental obtuseness.

I believe in radical reform; and the movement for such reform can be successful only if it frowns on the demagogue as it does on the corruptionist; if it shows itself as far removed from government by a mob as from government by plutocracy. Of all corruption, the most far-reaching for evil is that which hides itself behind the mask of furious demagogy, seeking to arouse and to pander to the basest passions of mankind. No better exemplification of this type of corruption could be found than in the case of Mr. Haskell.

You have uttered no word of condemnation of Haskellism, as we thus see it. That you have consciously sought to bring it about, I do not believe. That it was the natural result of the effort to apply in practice your teachings, I have no question.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan,
Lincoln, Nebraska.

REJOINDER TO MR. BRYAN

To the only statements of importance that Mr. Bryan makes, the President could merely answer that they are not in accordance with the facts. It is not true, and Mr. Bryan must know that it is not true, that there was any failure to prosecute any Cabinet officer. The President supposes that this refers to Mr. Paul Morton; but if so, Mr. Bryan either did know or ought to have known that the Attorney-General reported that there was no cause for action against Mr. Paul Morton, and that when the case as to which action was asked for against him came up in court, the judge, of his own motion and in the most explicit language, stated not the slightest suggestion of improper conduct on the part of Mr. Morton had been made and nothing looking thereto had been produced.

So of Mr. Bryan's assertion that the President asked Mr. Harriman for campaign funds. He either knows or ought to know that this is false. The letter of the President of October 8, 1906, to Hon. James S. Sherman has been published in full and given the widest circulation. In this letter, among other matters, appear the following extracts which cover completely the point raised by Mr. Bryan. On September 23, 1904, the President in answer to a letter from Mr. Harriman stated:

"At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out."

On October 10, 1904, the President wrote him: "In view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, I should much like to have a few words with you."

On October 12th Mr. Harriman stated he would come. On October 14th the President answered stating that he had heard that Mr. Harriman did not think it wise to come, and continued:

"If you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why of course give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign."

The President did not, prior to the election, again write to or make any request of Mr. Harriman, and a mere glance at the above letters shows that they are incompatible with any idea that the President asked Mr. Harriman for any contribution, for he explicitly states that there was no need to see Mr. Harriman until after the campaign closed, and then only about matters not connected with it. Any charge that the President ever asked anybody for a contribution is a falsehood, pure and simple, and any affectation of misunderstanding the letters given above as passing between Mr. Harriman and the President reflects only upon the honesty and good faith of the individual thus affecting to misunderstand them.

Moreover, the course of the administration in re-

lentlessly prosecuting Harriman for his misdeeds is of itself more than sufficient proof that there was no understanding of any kind, direct or indirect, with him, on the part of the administration, at the time he asserts that he made the contribution referred to.

LETTER TO MR. P. H. GRACE ON THE RAILROAD QUESTION

October 19, 1908.

My Dear Mr. Grace:

I thank you for your letter. I need hardly say that I take a peculiar interest in the men who work on the railroads in this country, and I prize as one of the honors of which I am most proud the fact that I am an honorary member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

Throughout my whole term as President, now in its eighth year, I have devoted myself with especial interest to the questions affecting labor. The lasting prosperity of this country rests upon the welfare of the wage-worker and the welfare of the tiller of the soil. My greatest aim and desire have been to do all that in me lies to advance their interest. I wish to help them to get the best out of their present positions; I wish to help them make those positions permanently better, of permanently greater importance and reward. No consideration of party fealty or personal friendship would induce me to advise either farmer or workingman to do anything that was not for his permanent benefit. With this fact keenly before me I earnestly advise all working-

men, in their own interest as workingmen, but above all as American citizens concerned in the honor and the prosperity of this great free Republic, to support Mr. Taft for President; just as I advise all farmers, business men, and men of the professions.

I do not believe the wage-workers of this country have ever had a better friend in the White House than Mr. Taft will prove himself to be. He has already shown his faith by his deeds. In the matter of the injunctions he issued he was absolutely right, and the principles he laid down in those injunctions have since then been accepted by every worthy leader of labor, and they are embodied in the principles and practices of all the railroad brotherhood at the present day. The abuses of injunction have been fearlessly exposed and attacked by Mr. Taft. He recognizes, as in my judgment all fair-minded men must recognize, that again and again in the past this process has been used to the detriment of wage-workers by certain judges. He is doing and will continue to do everything that can be done to do away with these abuses. He will not make vague promises impossible of fulfilment. He will actually and in good faith try to secure action. Let me give you an example of what he has just done. A year or so ago the editor of the paper specially devoted to the iron-molders' union called upon me to say that a decree had been entered in the United States Circuit Court at Milwaukee in the summer of 1905 which he regarded as grossly unjust and improper

and as practically fatal to trades unionism. The case was that of the iron-molders' union against the Allis-Chalmers Company of Milwaukee. The members of the union, having made certain demands for the betterment of their conditions of service, which were refused, went on a strike, and an injunction suit followed in the United States Circuit Court. The late employees were enjoined from alleged illegal interference. The final decree was of the most drastic and far-reaching character, and besides enjoining the late employees from doing acts which were clearly illegal, it also enjoined them from any form of picketing, from inducing employees to leave the service of the Allis-Chalmers Company by persuasion or otherwise, and from any kind of interference with the company direct or indirect. So sweeping were the terms of this injunction that it practically forbade the union from making any effort, no matter how peaceful and proper, to maintain their position in this trade dispute. The editor of the Iron Molders' Journal, Mr. J. P. Fry, brought the case before me, stating that the union did not know what to do; that its funds were limited; that he felt that they were suffering from a gross injustice which they were powerless to remedy. I called in Mr. Taft and asked Mr. Fry to lay the case before him, as of course Mr. Taft was far more competent than I was to express his judgment as to the legality and propriety of the action taken. Mr. Taft satisfied himself of the facts and at once became exceedingly indignant at such an injunction

having issued. He stated that in his opinion the position taken by the court in issuing the injunction was clearly untenable, and that what was needed was that the union should get some first-class lawyer to represent them and should bring the case before the higher courts. He suggested, in response to Mr. Fry's request, that the union retain Mr. F. N. Judson, of St. Louis, who had represented the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in the Wabash case in 1893, and who, by the way, is the author of the review of the labor decisions of Judge Taft published in the "Review of Reviews" in 1907. Mr. Taft explained that one of the troubles of the labor unions was that so often they did not get the best type of counsel, so that their cases were not properly presented, and that in his judgment Mr. Judson would be sure to present this case aright. He stated that the decision of the court ought certainly to be in their favor. The case was argued before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals by Mr. Judson and Mr. Rubin, of Milwaukee, for the union, and by Mr. James M. Beck, counsel for the National Manufacturers' Association, for the company. The decision of the court was handed down in Chicago on the 8th day of this month and it justifies Judge Taft's wisdom, for it sustains the most important contentions of the labor unions. The court holds that while under the facts of the case the company was entitled to some injunction relief, the decree went far beyond the proper limits. It struck out of the decree all of the provisions

which prevented peaceful picketing or the exercise of the right of persuasion in inducing employees to join the strike and also all reference to boycotting on the ground that there was no boycott, as the members of the union had a right to refuse to handle "struck" work—that is, the work from a factory where they were on a strike—wherever they found it. The opinion is important especially as showing that much can be accomplished in getting the courts to correct abuses against employees in the exercise of the power of injunction, if such abuses are in effective form brought to their attention, as, thanks to the advice of Judge Taft, they were brought in this case. The right of peaceful picketing and persuasion so that employees may by peaceful means induce other employees to join them is forcibly set forth in this opinion, and it bases its decision largely upon Judge Taft's decision and upon the decision in the Wabash injunction case, which itself was largely based upon Judge Taft's decision; so that Judge Taft's decision is declared by the court to have settled the law as to the substantial rights of the parties, leaving only the application of the principles so declared as new cases arose. The great importance of this opinion is that it corrects abuses that have crept into injunctions and labor disputes in the Federal as well as the State courts. This decision goes far to protect the rights of workingmen, and it does so because it is explicitly based upon the labor decisions of Judge Taft; and this decision was secured only in consequence of following the

advice given by Judge Taft as to the proper course of procedure. I speak from first-hand knowledge as I was personally cognizant of all the facts. A more striking instance could not be imagined of the zealous effort of a public servant, which Judge Taft then was, to secure justice for workingmen to whom he thought injustice had been done, although the matter was not within his immediate control at the time. In this one instance Mr. Taft rendered to labor a great and signal service; a practical service, which shared the peculiarity of Mr. Taft's other services, for his services take the form of deeds rather than of mere words.

While on the bench Mr. Taft rendered a service to labor so great that it can hardly be overestimated. This was in the Narremore case against the C., C., C. & St. L. R. R. The plaintiff while working in the employ of the company had been hurt because the company had not provided the protection which the statute required it to furnish its employees. He got a verdict from the jury. The railroad appealed, and its counsel, Mr. Judson Harmon, argued that the verdict should be set aside because the employee had kept at work although he knew the railroad had violated the law, and that therefore he had really contracted to take all the chances of being hurt. This conclusion, to my mind a cruelly iniquitous conclusion, had up to that time been sustained by most of the courts, including the New York State Court of Appeals. Nevertheless Judge Taft refused to follow the New York case, stating

that the manifest legislative purpose was to protect the employee by positive law, for the very reason that it had proved impossible for him to protect himself by contract, and that the entire purpose of the law would be defeated if the employee was allowed by any form of contract to exempt the railroad company from the consequences of its failure to observe the law. This case has been cited all over the United States by counsel for workmen injured through the failure of their employers to furnish the protection required by statute for their safety. Judge Taft's decision was that when a law is made applying to a dangerous business, in which four thousand men are killed and sixty-five thousand men are injured every year, the intention is, that the railroads shall obey the law and that it shall not be nullified by judicial construction. Very many judges, unfortunately, have failed to follow his reasoning, but other judges, and the law-making bodies as well, have followed it, and this great decision marks one of the longest strides taken in the effort to secure for wage-workers full protection against, and full compensation for, injuries received by them in the line of their duty. Here again Judge Taft rendered one of the greatest services that has ever been rendered to the cause of labor.

The two cases to which I have referred have a further importance when it is remembered that the President now to be chosen will probably himself choose a majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court during the next four years. It would be a

dreadful calamity to have these justices chosen by a man of less than Mr. Taft's high purpose, great knowledge of the needs of the people, and firm resolution to do justice to every individual and every interest. This is one of the vital questions now before the American people.

Furthermore, I ask you to consider what Mr. Taft has actually done as an administrator. The Panama Canal has come specially under the direction and control of Mr. Taft as Secretary of War. He has taken a peculiar interest in the men who are digging that canal. He has made a special study of all that confronts them. He has made it his business to see that their interests are in every way amply protected; that they have an ample reward; that they are well housed, well fed, and so far as in his power lies that they receive compensation for injuries incurred in the line of their duty. A special committee which I have appointed to look into the conditions of labor on the Isthmus, which included upon it Mr. Samuel B. Donnelly, a labor representative, formerly the president of the International Typographical Union, has reported to me in effect that Uncle Sam has shown himself to be a model employer on the Isthmus, so that, thanks to Mr. Taft and the care and supervision which he has exercised, the men who work for the Government on the Isthmus are on the whole better paid, better protected, better cared for than in any private industrial enterprise in the United States. Mr. T. J. Dolan, the secretary-treasurer of the International

Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, who has most carefully investigated this subject because of the large number of the men of his organization employed on the Isthmus, has come to the same conclusion, and largely because of this fact he is ardently supporting Mr. Taft.

As opposed to the entire vagueness of Mr. Bryan's proposals, Mr. Taft stands pledged to continue the definite and constructive program of social reorganization outlined and already entered upon by the present administration, which has never hesitated in specific cases of sufficient importance to interfere for the purpose of securing an adjustment of labor troubles, at the same time conserving the rights of the wage-earner. A conspicuous instance was the settlement of the anthracite coal strike. In April, 1907, when a strike was imminent on the western railroads which would have tied up forty-four lines with half a million employees and put half the country in a state of siege, negotiators were sent by the administration who demanded and secured in the name of the people a settlement of the difficulty by arbitration; and last Spring the administration by its vigorous action prevented a general reduction of wages on the railroads of the country which would have caused great suffering and far-reaching disturbance; but if Mr. Bryan was elected I have little doubt that the ensuing industrial chaos, necessitating great reduction of wages and widespread non-employment, would be beyond the reach of such action as that which averted the

threatened disaster last Spring. When the public coal lands were falling under monopolistic control the administration withdrew millions of acres from entry, insisting to the extent of its power that the coal and oil under these lands shall remain a Federal possession. For the first time in our history the administration has secured the enforcement of the eight-hour law in the Government departments and is trying to secure its extension by legislation. In the District of Columbia it has enacted a Federal child labor law which stands as a model law for State governments in their department of legislation.

Beyond these remedial enactments and arbitrations achieved by this administration stands a constructive and organic program of Federal activity in the way of social and industrial reform. Toward this end through the years I have been in office I have consulted with all classes and conditions of men. We have been able on the whole to arrive at a remarkably close agreement among ourselves so long as all parties, representatives of labor and capital alike, kept in view their obligations to the commonwealth as joint workers toward this social reform. We are all agreed that free play shall be permitted only so long as it means fair play. We are endeavoring steadily to secure a more equitable adjustment of taxation toward the ideal of a distribution of the several costs of government in a ratio to the benefits derived. There is nothing in this of class or caste; from our program doctrinaires, in-

dividualist and socialist alike, are barred. Sociology comes not to breed a new class warfare; it knows man only as man. This administration has bent a large part of its efforts toward social advancement. The question has been asked, Why has not the National Government, through its Bureau of Labor, done for the wage-earner what, through the Department of Agriculture, it has done for the farmer, by placing at his disposal through Federal research the latest results of scientific discovery. My answer is, the time had not yet come when this was possible; we have advanced in each case just as fast and as far as was possible with the knowledge and means at our command. Between pure science or speculative theory and its practical application in the hands of a government lies of necessity a gap of years, years of patient investigation and experiment after truth. Ten years ago organic evolution in agriculture was still a speculative science. To-day the farmer has only to specify that his wheat must ripen by such and such a date, stand up under a certain wind velocity, bear in its seed a certain percentage of starch, etc., and our Department can help build him a plant to order. The spineless cactus and the frost-proof orange, soil chemistry, seed selection, and diversified farming have preceded in time of their discovery all those theories of social reconstruction upon which any Bureau of Labor could build. The entire task of transforming a population with every advance of mechanical invention, it is no exaggeration to

state, has awaited that precise knowledge which has come only within the last five years.

Given that knowledge, and given wisdom, self-restraint, and high purpose in applying it, and there is little this Nation cannot do for itself. With free scope of our Federal program, we will do much toward helping each member of the industrial army to get the chance to make everything possible out of himself. We can solve this problem of the unemployed best by having no more unemployable. Already our Bureau of Labor, for the past twenty years of necessity largely a statistical bureau, is practically a Department of Sociology, aiming not only to secure exact information about industrial conditions but to discover remedies for industrial evils. At this moment we are conducting investigations as to the labor of women and children, the disease and mortality, rates of the various occupations, the problem of dealing with the unemployed, etc. The whole principle of material and social advancement has come to a quicker fruition in our Department of Agriculture for the reason that biology is more easily handled with reference to seeds and plants and cattle than as regards men. It is our confident claim, however, that applied science, if carried out according to our program, will succeed in achieving for humanity, above all for the city industrial worker, results even surpassing in value those to-day in effect on the farms. We believe that America should take the lead in this work. Much of it can begin now. All of it

will have to be done at some time, and the first place in the world will come to that country which does it first and best. The work has already been begun under this administration. It will be continued and amplified under Mr. Taft. It will be brought to ruin if Mr. Bryan be elected. The National Government must help toward these great reforms by putting the results of its extended researches at the free disposal of all citizens. We believe not merely in retaining but developing to the utmost possible extent individual initiative, but we are not to be frightened by any outcry of paternalism or socialism from going into any experiment which promises to benefit either farmers or wage-earners; for we regard a lawless and impracticable individualism as in itself quite as undesirable as the most deadening form of socialism.

It has been charged that Mr. Taft, and the administration in which he has borne so prominent a part, have not been sufficiently interested in economic and industrial questions. The above is, it seems to me, a sufficient answer to this charge. Mr. Taft's election should be advocated by all who believe in making a far-reaching effort toward the betterment of our scheme of social and industrial life. It should also be advocated by all who wish an immediate advance in these social and industrial conditions.

If Mr. Taft is not elected, a period of industrial chaos and business bad times will ensue in which the workingmen will suffer far more than any other

class. They are the people who more than any other will pay the penalty. Because of their own material interests I believe that they should support Mr. Taft; and furthermore I believe that they should support him because he has by his actions over and over again proved himself to be a singularly fearless and effective champion of the rights of labor; and above all I feel that they should support him as good American citizens, because he embodies what is best and highest in our American citizenship.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

MR. P. H. GRACE,
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen,
98 Clinton Street, Binghamton, N. Y.

LETTER TO SENATOR P. C. KNOX ON THE LABOR QUESTION

October 21, 1908.

MY DEAR SENATOR KNOX:

In your admirable speech of yesterday you speak of the action of Mr. Bryan and certain gentlemen claiming to be the special representatives of organized labor, foremost among them Mr. Gompers, to secure the support of laboring men for Mr. Bryan on consideration of his agreement to perform certain acts nominally in the interest of organized labor, which would really be either wholly ineffective or else of widespread injury not only to organized labor but to all decent citizens throughout this country. You have a peculiar right to

speak on labor questions; for it was you, who, as Attorney General, first actively invoked the great power of the Federal Government on behalf of the rights of labor when, for the first time in the history of the Government, you, speaking for the Department of Justice, intervened in a private lawsuit which had gone against a locomotive fireman who had lost his arm in coupling cars, and by your intervention secured from the Supreme Court a construction of the safety appliance act which made it a vital remedial statute, and therefore has secured to hundreds of crippled employees and widows of crippled employees, compensation which they would not otherwise have obtained.

The daily papers of October 13th contain an open letter from Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, appealing to workingmen to vote for Mr. Bryan.

In that letter are certain definite statements which interest the wider American public quite as much as those to whom Mr. Gompers makes his appeal. These statements warrant all you have said in your speech; and they would warrant you in asking Mr. Bryan to say publicly whether Mr. Gompers states correctly the attitude of his party and himself on a subject that is of vital concern to every citizen, including every business man, as well as every farmer and every laboring man, who looks to the courts for the protection of his rights.

Mr. Gompers in his letter asserts that the judiciary of this country is destroying democratic gov-

ernment and substituting therefore an irresponsible and corrupt despotism in the interest of corporate power; and he further makes clear that the means by which he believes this alleged despotism has been set up in the place of democracy is by the process of injunction in the courts of equity.

Mr. Gompers in his letter states that his appeal to the Republican convention at Chicago for remedy against the injunction was denied; and he then goes on to state not only that the Democratic party promised a remedy, but promised him the particular remedy that he had already asked of Congress.

His words are:

"Labor's representatives then went to the Democratic party. That party made Labor's contentions its own. It pledged its candidates for every office to these remedies which Labor had already submitted to Congress."

The last sentence in this quotation indicates very definitely the specific remedies to which Mr. Gompers understands Mr. Bryan's party has pledged itself.

His statement now makes perfectly clear an important plank in the Bryanite platform which has heretofore seemed puzzling to a vast number of earnest-minded, thinking people, who are sincerely interested in the steady advance and the legitimate aspirations of labor, and who carefully read both platforms to know precisely what hopes each held out for the improvement of the conditions of wage-earners.

That plank reads as follows:

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen especially in connection with industrial disputes. We deem that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial disputes were involved."

This is the plank that promises the "remedy" against injunctions which Mr. Gompers asked of Mr. Bryan's party. It means absolutely nothing; no change of the law could be based on it; no man without inside knowledge could foretell what its meaning would turn out to be, for no man could foretell how any judge would decide in any given case, as the plank apparently leaves each judge free to say when he issues an injunction in a labor case whether or not it is a case in which an injunction would issue if labor were not involved. Yet this plank is apparently perfectly clear to Mr. Gompers, and in his letter to his followers he indicates beyond question just what he understands it to mean. He asserts that he has the requisite inside knowledge. His statement that Mr. Bryan's party (for it was Mr. Bryan who dictated the platform) pledged itself "to those remedies which labor had already submitted to Congress" is a perfectly clear and definite statement.

The "remedies" which Mr. Gompers has already submitted to Congress are matters of record, and the identification of his "remedy" against injunc-

tions in labor disputes is easy and certain. This "remedy" is embodied in House Bill No. 94 of the first session of the Sixtieth Congress, the complete text of which is hereto appended.

The gist of the bill, as can be seen by referring to the complete text, is this:

1st. After forbidding any Federal judge to issue a restraining order for an injunction in any labor dispute except to prevent irreparable injury to property or a property right, it specifically provides that "no right to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered, or treated as property or as constituting a property right.

2nd. It provides that nothing agreed upon or done by two or more parties in connection with a labor dispute shall constitute a conspiracy or other criminal offence or be prosecuted as such unless the thing agreed upon or done would be unlawful if done by a single individual.

The bill here described is not only the "remedy" that Mr. Gompers has "already submitted to Congress," but it is the one and only "remedy" which he and those associated with him in his present movement have announced that they will accept in the matter of his grievance against the courts on the injunction issue.

The counsel for the American Federation of Labor, and Mr. Gompers, its president, are both on record to this effect.

At a hearing before the House Committee on

Judiciary, the counsel for the American Federation of Labor, on February 5, 1908 (as appears from the printed hearings) stated:

"The bill was considered by at least two sessions of the executive council of that organization, and unanimously approved. It was considered by two of its national conventions—the two latest—and by them unanimously endorsed. And in the face of many propositions to amend it, in the face of many proposed substitutes, in the face of pressure, from every direction, from high sources and sources not so exalted, the organization has stood by, and is to-day standing by, this bill without amendment."

Mr. Gompers himself in discussing this bill before the same Committee on February 28th, 1908 (as appears from the printed hearings), went on record as follows:

"Events have demonstrated clearly to my mind that there is only one bill before the committee that can at all be effective to deal with this abuse, with this invasion of human rights, and that is the Pearre bill."

Further on in the same page of the hearings Mr. Gompers states:

"I will say this, that I think I will try to make my position clear that the American Federation of Labor has so declared itself that it must insist upon the principles involved in the Pearre bill, and that I explained, as best I could, the position of labor—that we would rather be compelled to bear the

wrongs which we have for a longer period than to give our assent to the establishment of a wrong principle, believing and knowing that time would give the justice and relief to which labor—the working people—are entitled."

This bill then, and none other, represents exactly the relief that Mr. Gompers demands in the way of anti-injunction legislation; and if the statement in his letter is correct, this bill represents what Mr. Bryan and his party are pledged to in the matter of anti-injunction legislation.

The injunction plank in the Bryanite platform may sound vague and hazy; but there is nothing vague or hazy about this bill.

It is more than a bill; it is a program of the most fixed and definite kind; and if Mr. Gompers is correct, this bill becomes, as it were, an authorized appendix to Mr. Bryan's platform, or a footnote explaining in detail the briefer and vaguer injunction plank in that platform.

Does Mr. Bryan accept it as such?

Mr. Bryan should state publicly whether he in fact accepts the principle of this bill, which is the official program of Mr. Gompers and those who stand with him.

Mr. Gompers announces publicly that Mr. Bryan's party has made this program its own. Is Mr. Gompers correct in this statement?

Either Mr. Gompers is mistaken as to what Mr. Bryan's party has promised him in this matter of anti-injunction legislation, or those who drafted his

party's platform, in their haste, failed to make the promise so clear that the general public would understand it precisely as Mr. Gompers understood it.

Mr. Bryan failed in his letter of acceptance to discuss this labor plank of his party's platform. So far as I am aware he has failed to discuss it since.

There should be such discussion as a matter of common fairness, not only to labor, but to all citizens alike. On a question of such grave consequence the people are entitled to know where Mr. Bryan stands.

Mr. Taft has repeatedly explained exactly where he stands in this matter of regulating injunctions.

Are we not entitled to know with equal clearness exactly where Mr. Bryan stands?

Mr. Gompers' public statements as to what his party has promised make it imperative that Mr. Bryan declare himself.

This bill, to the principle of which he says Mr. Bryan is pledged, declares that the right to carry on a lawful business in a lawful way shall not be regarded as a property right or entitled to the protection of a court of equity through the process of an injunction; and that the right to such protection which admittedly now exists under the law shall be taken away.

The counsel for the American Federation of Labor in his argument before the House Committee on February 9, at which Mr. Gompers himself was present, gave a very frank illustration of what he and Mr. Gompers perceived to be the consequences of

that provision of this bill which says that the right to carry on business shall not be entitled to protection as a property right.

His words are: "Suppose that workingmen, by some operation or proceedings in the community (let us say by violence or persuasion or picketing away from the premises) reduce those works to a state of utter helplessness, and there was not a wheel moving, nor a process in operation, and this company had no help at all—that would be an interference with his right to do business; and for that I say he has no right to be protected by injunction."

Is Mr. Bryan in reality pledged to this point of view?

Will he definitely say either in writing or in a public address whether he believes with Mr. Gompers that the protection heretofore afforded by the courts of equity to the right to carry on a lawful business in a lawful way is despotic power, and that the judges who exercise that power are irresponsible despots?

So far as the second section of this bill is concerned, it is perfectly clear that it would legalize the blacklist and the sympathetic boycott carried to any extent. It would legalize acts which have time and again been declared oppressive, unjust, and immoral by the best and most eminent labor leaders themselves.

Does Mr. Bryan believe with Mr. Gompers that he and that part of the labor movement that agrees with him has the right morally, and should be given

the right legally, to paralyze or to destroy with impunity the business of an innocent third person, against whom he or they have no direct grievance, simply because this third person refuses to join with them aggressively in a labor controversy with the real merits of which he may be utterly unacquainted, because he refuses to class as his enemy any and every other employer whom they point out as their enemy, because he refuses, merely upon their peremptory order, to excommunicate some other employer by ceasing all business relations with him? The blacklist and the secondary boycott are two of the most cruel forms of oppression ever devised by the wit of man for the infliction of suffering on his weaker fellows.

No court could possibly exercise any more brutal, unfeeling, or despotic power than Mr. Gompers claims for himself and his followers in this legislation, which would permit them without let or hindrance of any kind to carry on every form and degree of the secondary boycott.

The Anthracite Strike Commission, as fair-minded and distinguished a body of men as ever passed judgment on an industrial question, thus refers to the secondary form of boycott, that is, the boycott of innocent third persons for refusing to take an aggressive part in a controversy with which they have no concern:

"To say this is not to deny the legal right of any men or set of men, voluntarily to refrain from social intercourse or business relations with any persons

whom he or they, with or without good reason, dislike. This may sometimes be unchristian, but it is not illegal. But when it is a concerted purpose of a number of persons not only to abstain themselves from such intercourse, but to render the life of their victim miserable by persuading and intimidating others so to refrain, such purpose is a malicious one, and the concerted attempt to accomplish it is a conspiracy at common law, and merits and should receive the punishment due to such a crime."

The Commission further states that this boycott can be carried to an extent "which was condemned by Mr. Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, in his testimony before the Commission, and which certainly deserves the reprobation of all thoughtful and law-abiding citizens."

Does Mr. Bryan agree with Mr. Gompers that all existing legal restraint on the enforcement of every degree of the boycott should be withdrawn; that the industrial excommunication of the innocent merchant who refuses to render unquestioned obedience to the orders of Mr. Gompers should be legalized and encouraged; or does he believe with us, and with Mr. Mitchell and other labor leaders who differ with Mr. Gompers in this matter, that this form of the boycott is morally wrong, that labor at war should fight with its enemies and respect the rights of neutrals, that innocent third parties should not be coerced into taking sides in industrial disputes to which they are in no sense parties, under

penalty of having their business attacked and destroyed?

Mr. Taft is perfectly definite on this proposition.

Where does Mr. Bryan stand?

The citizen who votes for or against Mr. Taft on this proposition does so with his eyes open and with a clear understanding from Mr. Taft himself of his position. He has frankly discussed this subject time and again, with workingmen themselves, both in this campaign and prior to his nomination. He has been willing to express his position clearly and to assure workingmen that to protect them in their rights he is willing to go to the limits of what he considers justice, but that he will not go farther. His definition of justice to labor does not, as we understand it, include either of the principles contained in Mr. Gompers' program, as set forth officially in this bill.

Does Mr. Bryan disagree with Mr. Taft on these propositions?

Will he state publicly, definitely, categorically, whether he accepts the program outlined in this bill, as Mr. Gompers in his letters has assured the public that he does?

Mr. Bryan's party platform paid a high tribute to our courts of justice. It stated:

"We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts."

The "great body of our citizens" to whom this platform refers is admittedly Mr. Gompers and his followers.

Mr. Gompers, now Mr. Bryan's open and avowed ally, has, in the letter here quoted, attacked the Federal courts in unmeasured terms of reproach because, by a long line of decisions, the equity courts have refused to make an outlaw of the business man, because his right to carry on a lawful business under the peace of the law has been protected by the process of injunction, because in a word the most vital and most fundamental right of the business world, the right of a business man to carry on his business, has been sustained and not denied by the processes of the courts of equity. This sweeping attack of Mr. Gompers upon the judiciary has been made in a frank and open effort to secure votes for Mr. Bryan.

Are these attacks made with Mr. Bryan's consent?

Do they meet with his approval?

Does he endorse them or does he repudiate them?

Mr. Bryan has frankly questioned Mr. Taft during the progress of this campaign, and very properly so, and has asked him to make clear his personal stand on public matters upon which the public were entitled to be enlightened.

In turn, with equal frankness and with equal propriety, Mr. Bryan should be asked to break a long continued silence and make definite and certain his own position in regard to a matter which concerns

not only business men and every decent, law-abiding citizen, whether a wage-worker or not, just as much as it concerns Mr. Gompers and that part of organized labor that stands with him.

There is no need of generalities, of vague expression, of sympathy for labor. Let Mr. Bryan simply confine himself to the anti-injunction plank of his own platform and tell us publicly, definitely and clearly whether he accepts or rejects the statement of Mr. Gompers that this plank pledges him to the principles of the bill for which Mr. Gompers stands; and whether if elected he will endeavor to have this proposal enacted into law. This is asked honestly, in the interest of that large voting public which believes sincerely in the promotion of every legitimate right and interest of labor; but which believes also that, from the standpoint of the best interest of labor, it neither requires nor is entitled to more than justice, and that the right to destroy business should not be formally recognized in the law of the land.

I feel that I have the right to speak frankly in this matter because throughout my term as President it has been my constant object to do everything in my power, both by administrative action and by endeavoring to secure legislative action, to advance the cause of labor, protect it from unjust aggression, and secure to it its legitimate rights. I have accomplished something; I hope to accomplish something more before I leave office; and I have taken special and peculiar interest in Mr. Taft's candidacy

because I believe that of all the men in this country he is the man best qualified for continuing the work of securing to the wage-workers of the country their full rights. I will do everything in my power for the wage-workers of the country *except to do what is wrong*. I will do wrong for no man; and with all the force in my power I solemnly warn the laboring men of this country that any public man who advocates doing wrong in their interest can not be trusted by them; and this whether his promise to do wrong is given knowing that it is wrong, or because of a levity and lack of consideration which make him willing to promise anything without counting the cost if thereby support at the moment is to be purchased. Just as I have fought hard, and shall continue to fight hard, to bring about in the fullest way the recognition of the right of the employee to be amply compensated for injury received in the courses of his duty, I have fought hard and shall continue to fight to do away with all abuses in the use of the power of injunction. I will do everything I can to see that the power of injunction is not used to oppress laboring men. I will endeavor to secure them full and equal justice. Therefore, in the interest of all good citizens, be they laboring men, business men, professional men, farmers, or members of any other occupation, so long as they have in their souls the principles of sound American citizenship, I denounce as wicked the proposition to secure a law which, according to the explicit statement of Mr. Gompers, is to prevent the courts from

effectively interfering with riotous violence when the object is to destroy a business, and which will legalize the blacklist and the secondary boycott, both of them the apt instruments of unmanly persecution.

But there is another account against Messrs. Bryan and Gompers in this matter. "Ephraim feedeth on wind." Their proposed remedy is an empty sham. They are seeking to delude their followers by the promise of a law, which would damage this country solely because of the vicious moral purpose that would be shown by putting it upon the statute books, but which would be utterly worthless to accomplish its avowed purpose. I have not the slightest doubt that such a law as that proposed by Mr. Bryan would, if enacted by Congress, be declared unconstitutional by a unanimous Supreme Court—unless, indeed, Mr. Bryan were able to pack this court with men appointed for the special purpose of declaring such a law constitutional. I happen to know that certain great trust magnates have announced within the past few weeks, in answer to the question as to why they were openly or secretly favoring the election of Mr. Bryan, that the laws that Mr. Bryan proposed, including especially this law, would be wholly ineffective, because the court would undoubtedly throw them out, and that the promises to enact them could therefore be safely disregarded.

On July 2d last the special counsel to the Central Association of Building Trades of New York, Mr.

Edward J. Gavegan, submitted to that association an opinion in the matter of injunctions; an opinion which was officially endorsed and approved the same day by the Central Association of Building Trades of New York. In this opinion in discussing proposals to do away with or modify the power of issuing injunctions in industrial disputes, Mr. Gavegan said that the proposal to favor defendants in industrial disputes above all others "would be class legislation and in the nature of special privilege. Special privilege is the bane of the working man. Special privilege is what creates powerful special interests. What the wage-earner wants, and all he wants, is 'equality before the law.' . . . It is playing into the hands of the 'special interests' to enact laws which are certain of annulment by the courts, even when they are intended in good faith for the betterment of the working man. The special interests would rather see a thousand favorable but unenforcible new laws enacted for the wage-earner than to have him learn the full power of a single existing remedy. The remedies so far suggested and made public can not in the very nature of our system furnish any needed relief. . . . Labor representatives should concentrate and use their influence for the enactment of general measures calculated to protect and not to destroy the remedy of injunction." This is admirably sound common sense, the opinion of the counsel to a great labor body, endorsed and adopted as its own by that labor body. It is a scathing condemnation of the

proposals, both vicious and chimerical, to which Messrs. Bryan and Gompers are committed. They promise what would be in the highest degree detrimental to the interests of the general public if it could be performed, and what as a matter of fact could not be performed. I believe both in the patriotism and the intelligence of the working men, the laboring men, of America. Therefore I do not believe that they can be misled to their own deep hurt as Messrs. Bryan and Gompers seek to mislead them; I do not believe that they will permit Mr. Gompers to deliver them like chattels to Mr. Bryan in exchange for a sham.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. P. C. KNOX, U. S. S.,
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

LETTER TO MR. J. C. MARTIN CONCERNING RELIGION AND POLITICS

November 6, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter running in part as follows:

"While it is claimed universally that religion should not enter into politics, yet there is no denying that it does, and the mass of voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for President of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic.

"Since Taft has been nominated for President by

the Republican party, it is being circulated and is constantly urged as a reason for not voting for Taft that he is an infidel (Unitarian) and his wife and brother Roman Catholics. . . . If his feelings are in sympathy with the Roman Catholic Church on account of his wife and brother being Catholics, that would be objectionable to a sufficient number of voters to defeat him. On the other hand if he is an infidel, that would be sure to mean defeat. . . . I am writing this letter for the sole purpose of giving Mr. Taft an opportunity to let the world know what his religious belief is."

I received many such letters as yours during the campaign, expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Taft on religious grounds; some of them on the ground that he was a Unitarian, and others on the ground that he was suspected to be in sympathy with Catholics. I did not answer any of these letters during the campaign because I regarded it as an outrage even to agitate such a question as a man's religious conviction, with the purpose of influencing a political election. But now that the campaign is over, when there is opportunity for men calmly to consider whither such propositions as those you make in your letter would lead, I wish to invite them to consider them, and I have selected your letter to answer because you advance both the objections commonly urged against Mr. Taft, namely: that he is a Unitarian, and also that he is suspected of sympathy with the Catholics.

You ask that Mr. Taft shall "let the world know

what his religious belief is." This is purely his own private concern; it is a matter between him and his Maker, a matter for his own conscience; and to require it to be made public under penalty of political discrimination is to negative the first principles of our Government, which guarantee complete religious liberty, and the right to each to act in religious affairs as his own conscience dictates. Mr. Taft never asked my advice in the matter, but if he had asked it, I should have emphatically advised him against thus stating publicly his religious belief. The demand for a statement of a candidate's religious belief can have no meaning except that there may be discrimination for or against him because of that belief. Discrimination against the holder of one faith means retaliatory discrimination against men of other faiths. The inevitable result of entering upon such a practice would be an abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissension which in so many lands have proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion, and to all advance in civilization.

To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any church, is an outrage against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life. You are entitled to know whether a man seeking your suffrages is a man of clean and upright life, honorable in all of

his dealings with his fellows, and fit by qualification and purpose to do well in the great office for which he is a candidate; but you are not entitled to know matters which lie purely between himself and his Maker. If it is proper or legitimate to oppose a man for being a Unitarian, as was John Quincy Adams, for instance, as is the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, at the present moment Chaplain of the Senate, and an American of whose life all good Americans are proud—then it would be equally proper to support or oppose a man because of his views on justification by faith, or the method of administering the sacrament, or the gospel of salvation by works. If you once enter on such a career there is absolutely no limit at which you can legitimately stop.

So much for your objections to Mr. Taft because he is a Unitarian. Now, for your objections to him because you think his wife and brother to be Roman Catholics. As it happens, they are not; but if they were, or if he were a Roman Catholic himself, it ought not to affect in the slightest degree any man's supporting him for the position of President. You say that "the mass of the voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for President of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic." I believe that when you say this you foully slander your fellow countrymen. I do not for one moment believe that the mass of our fellow citizens, or that any considerable number of our fellow citizens, can be influenced by such narrow bigotry as to refuse to vote for any thoroughly up-

right and fit man because he happens to have a particular religious creed. Such a consideration should never be treated as a reason for either supporting or opposing a candidate for a political office. Are you aware that there are several States in this Union where the majority of the people are now Catholics? I should reprobate in the severest terms the Catholics who in those States (or in any other States) refused to vote for the most fit man because he happened to be a Protestant; and my condemnation would be exactly as severe for Protestants who, under reversed circumstances, refused to vote for a Catholic. In public life I am happy to say that I have known many men who were elected, and constantly re-elected, to office in districts where the great majority of their constituents were of a different religious belief. I know Catholics who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Protestant, and Protestants who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Catholic; and among the Congressmen whom I knew particularly well was one man of Jewish faith who represented a district in which there were hardly any Jews at all. All of these men by their very existence in political life refute the slander you have uttered against your fellow Americans.

I believe that this Republic will endure for many centuries. If so there will doubtless be among its Presidents Protestants and Catholics, and, very probably at some time, Jews. I have consistently tried while President to act in relation to my fellow

Americans of Catholic faith as I hope that any future President who happens to be a Catholic will act towards his fellow Americans of Protestant faith. Had I followed any other course I should have felt that I was unfit to represent the American people.

In my Cabinet at the present moment there sit side by side Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew, each man chosen because in my belief he is peculiarly fit to exercise on behalf of all our people the duties of the office to which I have appointed him. In no case does the man's religious belief in any way influence his discharge of his duties, save as it makes him more eager to act justly and uprightly in his relations to all men. The same principles that have obtained in appointing the members of my Cabinet, the highest officials under me, the officials to whom is entrusted the work of carrying out all the important policies of my administration, are the principles upon which all good Americans should act in choosing, whether by election or appointment, the men to fill any office from the highest to the lowest in the land.

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. J. C. MARTIN,
Corner Fourth and Jefferson Streets,
Dayton, Ohio.

TO A GATHERING OF PROMINENT WOMEN OF WASHINGTON IN THE WHITE HOUSE, NOVEMBER 17, 1908

I will first avail myself of the opportunity to say a word or two as to the work and needs of the Washington Young Women's Christian Association, and then Mrs. Roosevelt and I will have the pleasure of shaking hands with each of you and bidding you welcome.

I doubt if there is a movement, among the movements that one can broadly term philanthropic, in the country which better deserves the interest and support of our people than the movement for Young Women's Christian Associations. There has been in the past a tendency to do more for young men than for young women. I remember twenty-five years ago being very much struck, in New York, at a time when I had some connection with work on the East Side, with the fact that there was so much more opportunity for a young man, without friends in the city, to get a place for himself, to escape temptation, to receive aid, than there was for a young woman; that too often there was no chance for the girl, the young woman, who came to the city to receive the help and have the human sympathy which she so much needed.

In every movement of this kind I feel that the National Capital should take the lead. Not only the people who live for social reasons in the National Capital, not only the old residents and those who come to spend the winter, but those in public posi-

tion should make it an object to see that the one city over which the National Government has control shall stand in the forefront in any work of this kind; and I therefore wish to express my earnest gratitude—and I am speaking on behalf of the Nation at large—my earnest gratitude to those who have worked for the Young Women's Christian Associations, and I bespeak for them the support necessary to put up an adequate building, and to fit themselves to do at least part of the immense amount of work they desire to do, but which they have not the means to do. I am to speak on Thanksgiving Day at the laying of the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association building for colored people here in this District. I am glad, very glad, that such a building is to be put up. But it is a misfortune that we should not at the same time be laying the foundation for a similar building such as you desire to build in the District. We already have a building for the white young men of the District, and we are getting one for the colored young men. We must now have the one you propose to put up for the young women. Most of you know the work of the Association even better than I do, yet there are one or two points to which I want to call your attention. Something like 50,000 lunches were served, practically at cost price, to young women in connection with this work last year. There is an urgent need for increasing the accommodations by providing extra rooms, so as to give a chance for more of the young women to

get lunch in that way. The present building is so utterly inadequate that it is impossible to hold the social meetings in the rooms, as they ought to be held. You yourselves board a certain number of young women. It is highly desirable that you should have a chance to investigate and report on all of the boarding-houses or other places of accommodation that take in young women, so that a strange girl coming here may come to you and be certain that she will be referred to a respectable place where she can live without danger and with some of the decencies and comforts of life. That is one of the most important branches of the work you do. I need hardly refer to the class work, the educational work, which you do. Again, there is need of an adequate gymnasium, so that you can help the girls keep the sound bodies, without which they cannot do their work well.

This Association is peculiarly to be commended for the way in which it works in harmony with all other bodies. It is a very real misfortune to see philanthropic organizations pulling against one another. You have striven to make your work part of the general helpful work of the community. You try to work in connection with the various churches of all denominations, to help hand in hand with them; you try to work in connection with the other philanthropic organizations. I do not know in Washington an organization which has a greater need, and which has a juster warrant, for asking outsiders to help it than this.

I desire to say that this is one of the few gatherings seen in the White House that has come not on its suggestion, but on mine. You may be interested in knowing how you happened to get here. An African missionary called on me one day; he had just come back from Africa, and had two or three people with him, among them a young lady. I was speaking to the missionary about the need in missionary work of insisting on industrial training, a point on which I have very strong convictions; and in some way it happened to come up that this young lady was connected with the Young Women's Christian Association in Washington. I at once began to question her about the work, and she then spoke to me of the needs of the Association, and especially of the urgent need of an adequate building. I said to her that this type of work—the work of the Young Women's Christian Association—appealed to me almost more than any other kind; that I earnestly desired to do everything I could for the young women who have to earn their own way in the world, (for it is hard enough under the best of circumstances, both for those coming to the city from outside and for those in the city without any person to whom they can turn); I told this young lady that I would like to help out if I could, if only in the way of calling attention to your needs; and that if she and her friends would bring anyone they wished around to the White House I should be glad to receive them, and to say just a few words of greeting; not in the way of giving any advice, or

of saying anything that is new to any of you, but with the earnest purpose of calling attention to the admirable work that is being done and of the need that our people should support it in every possible way.

I am extremely glad to have the pleasure of seeing you here, and now I will ask if you will come this way so that Mrs. Roosevelt and I may shake hands with you.

AT THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT TO GENERAL SHERIDAN, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1908

It is eminently fitting that the Nation's illustrious men, the men who loom as heroes before the eyes of our people, should be fittingly commemorated here at the National Capital, and I am glad indeed to take part in the unveiling of this statue to General Sheridan. His name will always stand high on the list of American worthies. Not only was he a great general, but he showed his greatness with that touch of originality which we call genius. Indeed this quality of brilliance has been in one sense a disadvantage to his reputation, for it has tended to overshadow his solid ability. We tend to think of him only as the dashing cavalry leader, whereas he was in reality not only that, but also a great commander. Of course, the fact in his career most readily recognized was his mastery in the necessarily modern art of handling masses of modern cavalry so as to give them the fullest possible effect,

not only in the ordinary operations of cavalry which precede and follow a battle, but in the battle itself. But in addition he showed in the civil war that he was a first-class army commander, both as a subordinate of Grant and when in independent command. His record in the Valley campaign, and again from Five Forks to Appomattox, is one difficult to parallel in military history. After the close of the great war, in a field where there was scant glory to be won by the general in chief, he rendered a signal service which has gone almost unnoticed; for in the tedious weary Indian wars on the Great Plains it was he who developed in thorough-going fashion the system of campaigning in winter, which, at the cost of bitter hardship and peril, finally broke down the banded strength of those formidable warriors, the horse Indians.

His career was typically American, for from plain beginnings he rose to the highest military position in our land. We honor his memory itself; and moreover, as in the case of the other great commanders of his day, his career symbolizes the careers of all those men who in the years of the nation's direst need sprang to the front to risk everything, including life itself, and to spend the days of their strongest young manhood in valorous conflict for an ideal. Often we Americans are taunted with having only a material ideal. The empty folly of the taunt is sufficiently shown by the presence here to-day of you men of the Grand Army, you the comrades of the dead general, the

men who served with and under him. In all history we have no greater instance of subordination of self, of the exalting of a lofty ideal over merely material well-being among the people of a great nation, than was shown by our own people in the civil war.

And you, the men who wore the blue, would be the first to say that this same lofty indifference to the things of the body, when compared to the things of the soul, was shown by your brothers who wore the gray. Dreadful was the suffering, dreadful the loss, of the civil war. Yet it stands alone among wars in this, that now that the wounds are healed, the memory of the mighty deeds of valor performed on one side no less than on the other has become the common heritage of all our people in every quarter of this country. The completeness with which this is true is shown by what is occurring here to-day. We meet together to raise a monument to a great Union general, in the presence of many of the survivors of the Union Army; and the Secretary of War, the man at the head of the Army, who, by virtue of his office, occupies a special relation to the celebration, is himself a man who fought in the Confederate service. Few indeed have been the countries where such a conjunction would have been possible, and blessed indeed are we that in our own beloved land it is not only possible, but seems so entirely natural as to excite no comment whatever.

There is another point in General Sheridan's

career which it is good for all of us to remember. Whereas Grant, Sherman, and Thomas were of the old native American stock, the parents of Sheridan, like the parents of Farragut, were born on the other side of the water. Any one of the five was just as much a type of the real American, of what is best in America, as the other four. We should keep steadily before our minds the fact that Americanism is a question of principle, of purpose, of idealism, of character; that it is not a matter of birthplace, or creed, or line of descent. Here in this country the representatives of many old-world races are being fused together into a new type, a type the main features of which are already determined, and were determined at the time of the Revolutionary war; for the crucible in which all the new types are melted into one was shaped from 1776 to 1789, and our nationality was definitely fixed in all its essentials by the men of Washington's day. The strains will not continue to exist separately in this country as in the old world. They will be combined in one; and of this new type those men will best represent what is loftiest in the nation's past, what is finest in her hope for the future, who stand each solely on his worth as a man; who scorn to do evil to others, and who refuse to submit to wrong-doing themselves; who have in them no taint of weakness; who never fear to fight when fighting is demanded by a sound and high morality, but who hope by their lives to bring ever nearer the day when justice and peace shall prevail within

our own borders and in our relations with all foreign powers.

Much of the usefulness of any career must lie in the impress that it makes upon, and the lessons that it teaches to, the generations that come after. We of this generation have our own problems to solve, and the condition of our solving them is that we shall all work together as American citizens without regard to differences of section or creed or birthplace, copying, not the divisions which so lamentably sundered our fathers one from another, but the spirit of burning devotion to duty which drove them forward, each to do the right as it was given him to see the right, in the great years when Grant, Farragut, Sherman, Thomas, and Sheridan, when Lee and Jackson and the Johnstons, the valiant men of the North and the valiant men of the South, fought to a finish the great civil war. They did not themselves realize, in the bitterness of the struggle, that the blood and the grim suffering marked the death throes of what was worn out, and the birth pangs of a new and more glorious national life. Mighty is the heritage which we have received from the men of the mighty days. We, in our turn, must gird up our loins to meet the new issues with the same stern courage and resolute adherence to an ideal, which marked our fathers who belonged to the generation of the man in whose honor we commemorate this monument today.

ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF THE COLORED YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING, WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER 26, 1908

It is to me a matter of peculiar pleasure to be present on this occasion, at the laying of the corner stone of the building for the Colored Young Men's Christian Association of Washington. The Y. M. C. A. has worked among colored men for less than thirty years. For a number of reasons, for some time after the work was begun very little progress was made; indeed at first, curiously enough, the churches tended to antagonize the Y. M. C. A. But during the last twenty years the Y. M. C. A. work among our colored fellow-citizens has proceeded rapidly, and these are the very twenty years in which the colored race in America has made most progress. The religious people, those standing highest in the colored churches, now appreciate, as they failed to appreciate a quarter of a century ago, that innocent sports and amusements should be encouraged, and that the poorest lesson to be taught to any men of any race is that pleasure and vice are synonymous terms. The bowling alleys, the swimming pools, and gymnasiums of the Y. M. C. A. buildings are adjuncts of a very important kind to the effort for the moral and religious uplift with which the Y. M. C. A. movement has always been identified. Moreover, the Y. M. C. A. reaches both the classes that are reached by the churches and the classes that the churches fail to reach. Such a building as this will be is open

every day and every evening. It brings in men of many different types, for it appeals to many different sides of human nature. Already the colored Y. M. C. A. has a membership in this country of nearly 10,000, 5,000 belonging to the 37 city associations, and 5,000 to the student organizations. Of the 30,000 dollars spent last year for the current expenses of the 37 city associations, three-fourths were paid by colored men. It is noteworthy that of the 10,000 colored men attending the colored colleges of this country, half are active members of the Y. M. C. A. This speaks well for the spirit of these colleges, and gives us hope and encouragement for the character of the leaders of the colored race in the future. Over 4,600 volumes were circulated last year from the as yet limited number of colored Y. M. C. A. libraries.

No city in the country presents a better or wider field for useful Y. M. C. A. work among the colored people than Washington. Here we have more than 20,000 colored men, who have, unfortunately, but few safe places to which to go for innocent amusement. Hundreds of young colored men are every year being lured away from the habit of decent living because they are not supplied with the chance to go where innocent and healthy amusements are provided in surroundings that encourage education and morality. I can not too heartily commend the action of those colored men who are responsible for starting this building. When completed it will be a tribute to the advancement of the colored race; and

also a monument to the advancement of the city of Washington. It will be a model for the entire country; it will influence other cities; and it affords an excellent opportunity for both white and colored men to join in the work of uplifting a class that sorely needs aid. The colored man who builds that which improves and beautifies this city earns the right to the respect of his white neighbor, and benefits himself in a double way. I hope that the colored men will contribute freely toward this building, and I hope that their white friends will help them also. Such a building as this means the improvement in morality, in Christianity, in education, of the colored citizens of Washington; and therefore it concerns not only the colored people of Washington, but the white people also. When completed this building will cost $100,000, and no sum of money could be better expended. In thirty days the colored people of this city pledged $25,000 in order to secure a gift of $25,000 contingent on their raising a like sum. Of this $25,000 pledged by colored men, only $12,000 has been paid in; and right here let me say a word to the colored men who have pledged sums and have not redeemed their pledges. No man has a right to promise aid to a cause like this and not to keep his promise. It is the duty of every such man to make his promise good and to do it at once; and all those who have not pledged for a contribution should likewise contribute. Every church, every fraternal and civic society of the race, every colored man of means,

should feel the obligation to complete this building as soon as possible.

Let me mention a couple of cases in which colored men have contributed largely to work of this nature.

A colored man, born a slave in Knoxville, Tenn., was so much impressed with the value of the Y. M. C. A. work among white young men that he gave a piece of property costing $2,000 to the colored Young Men's Christian Association. He has the honor of having given the largest gift up to that time of any individual in the State of Tennessee, regardless of color, to the Association movement.

Another colored man, who was born on the Gold Coast of Africa, came to this country at an early age, was befriended by the Philadelphia Y. M. C. A., and by the use of their library prepared for a competitive examination, entered the University of Pennsylvania after winning the prize, received his education, and is today a very successful physician in the city of Portsmouth, Va., gave $500 to the building fund of their Association a year ago. He also gave $100 for current expenses the first year the Association employed a secretary, and says: "The reason I make these gifts is because I owe all I am to the Young Men's Christian Association."

Many other cases might be cited showing how this work appeals to reputable colored men in many sections of the country. There is possibly nothing needed worse in all our cities and towns than well-organized Young Men's Christian Associations which will stand for character building in the three-

fold way in which the Y. M. C. A. endeavors to do its work. It pays far better to support the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in a community than to pay the salary of a policeman. Homes are made safe and the community is lifted to a higher level by lifting these young men to better ideals of life.

As for the white man, let him remember in this as in all other matters, that to do justice to the colored man is demanded not only by the interest of the colored man but by the interest of the white man also. Sooner or later in this community every class of citizens will feel the effect of the raising or degradation of any other class. "All men up" is a much safer motto than "Some men down"; and it is to the interest of every class of any community that the members of every other class shall feel that industry, sobriety, good behavior, the conduct that marks a man as being a good neighbor and a good citizen, should receive a proper reward, so as thereby to put a premium upon the development of such qualities. I am not speaking of social relations; I am speaking of equality of treatment before the law, of equality of opportunity to earn a living, of equality of opportunity to earn the respect that should be accorded to the man who behaves decently, and is a good neighbor and good citizen. There are plenty of difficult problems in this country, plenty of problems requiring infinite patience, forbearance, and good judgment if they are to be dealt with wisely, and which can not by any possibility receive even an approximately complete solution within a

short time. What is known as the race problem is one of the most difficult; and it exists in the North as well as in the South. But of one thing we can rest assured, and that is that the only way in which to bring nearer the time when there shall be even an approximately fair solution of the problem is to treat each man on his merits as a man. He should not be treated badly because he happens to be of a given color, nor should he receive immunity for misconduct because he happens to be of a given color. Let us all strive, according to our ability and as far as the conditions will permit, to secure to the man of one color who behaves uprightly and honestly, with thrift and with foresight, the same opportunity for reward and for living his life under the protection of the law and without molestation by outsiders, that would be his if he were of another color. The avenues of employment should be open to one as to the other; the protection of the laws should be guaranteed to one as to the other. Each should be given the right to prove by his life and work what his capacities are, and should be judged accordingly. Each is entitled to the reward which he legitimately earns if he behaves well; each should be judged with the same severe impartiality if he behaves ill. The same fair treatment should be accorded both, and every effort made to give equal opportunity to those of equal capacity and character. It is the duty of the white man to see that exact justice is meted out to the colored man, the same justice that he would receive if he

were not colored; and upon the colored man is imposed the duty to make himself a useful citizen, to so behave as to win the respect of his white neighbor. The performance of duty should be the test applied to white man and colored man alike, and each individual should be judged not by the fact of his color, but by the way in which he meets these demands of duty; and the first duty which each colored man owes both to himself and his race is to work for the betterment both of himself and his race; for its educational, but above all for its industrial and moral betterment. It is to the great interest of the white people no less than of the colored people that all possible educational facilities should be given the colored people; and it is of even greater interest to both races that the colored man should steadily strive for his own industrial and moral uplift.

To teach by preaching is never as good as to teach by example. No words of advice and encouragement on my part can count in any way compared to what has actually been done by those colored men who have shown by their own success in life how a colored man can raise high his standard of good citizenship. It is the colored man himself and no outsider who can do most for the colored race. I want to call your attention and the attention of all who care to listen to me to the noteworthy record of the town of Mound Bayou in Mississippi. I stopped at Mound Bayou a year ago while going through Mississippi. Twenty years

ago the place was all wilderness. Now a thriving and prosperous town has been built, with a thriving and prosperous country round about; and every man in the town, every man in the country round about, is a colored man. In the "Planters' Journal" of Memphis, Tenn., a white man's paper, there is a description in an issue of a couple of years ago of Mound Bayou under the heading of "The most remarkable town in the South." This paper describes how the town has been founded, populated, and managed purely by men of the negro race. It is a thriving, growing town of 2,000 people. There is not a saloon nor a vicious resort of any kind in the town. There are some 6,000 people on the tract of land of which the town is the center. This tract includes about forty square miles, all of it owned by the colored people themselves. Ten thousand acres of land are in a high state of cultivation. There is a big cotton crop, and in addition the colony produces four-fifths of the corn and hay it needs, with many hundred of horses, mules, cattle, and hogs. In the town itself there are six churches and three schools. There is a bank with a capital stock of $10,000, which does a thriving business. The assessed value of the land in the town itself is nearly $25,000. There are sawmills, gins, blacksmith shops, bakeries; all without a white inhabitant in the neighborhood. The people are prosperous and singularly law-abiding. Their white neighbors have treated them well. The county sheriff employs a colored man to act in the

town in the capacity of deputy sheriff; and the railway and express company have a colored man in their office since the depot was established in the town; while the board of supervisors appoint colored road overseers. The town has forty-four mercantile and business houses, big and little, of all kinds, which do an aggregate annual business of about six hundred thousand dollars. Surely such a showing by an exclusively colored community means very much for the future of the colored race. Of course the founders of the community were picked men. Nevertheless it is an object lesson full of hope for the colored people and therefore full of hope for the white people too, for the white man is almost as much interested as the colored man in seeing that the latter rises instead of falls. Mound Bayou has taken the lead in establishing the Mississippi Negro Business League. Its members are not content with taking care of the business interests of the community. They have recently sent out a circular addressed to the negro farmer, the circular being signed by Mr. Charles Banks, the president of the Business League. This circular concludes with the following admirable advice: "See to it that your potatoes are well housed for the winter. Kill enough meat to not be forced to call on the merchant so early as in former years, and instead of spending all the money you have cleared from your crops during circus, festival, and Christmas times, or visiting places from which you moved the year before, instead of spending your money for things that

profit you nothing if you have no land, begin to buy; if you have land and are not out of debt deposit your money in some good bank and prepare to meet your obligations when due; if you have land and are out of debt, buy more or invest your money in some good securities, or beautify your farms by building good houses, barns, and fences; discard the old common stock of hogs, cows, horses and mules and buy better grades. Purchase up-to-date farming implements whenever practicable and learn to make your crops as good and as easy as the ideal western farmer. When the negro farmer can measure up to what I have above indicated he will be a happier and more useful citizen and his white friends will delight to have him in the land."

Mr. Knapp, of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture, three weeks ago secured a number of copies of this circular because he regarded the advice as so well put, so sound, and so timely that he wished to circulate it as far as possible. The people of Mound Bayou have done admirably for themselves; they reflect credit upon the whole country; and, above all, they are performing an inestimable service for the colored race.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION

Once again the season is at hand when, according to the ancient custom of our people, it becomes the duty of the President to appoint a day of prayer and of thanksgiving to God.

Year by year this Nation grows in strength and worldly power. During the century and a quarter that has elapsed since our entry into the circle of independent peoples we have grown and prospered in material things to a degree never known before, and not now known in any other country. The thirteen colonies which straggled along the seacoast of the Atlantic and were hemmed in but a few miles west of tidewater by the Indian haunted wilderness, have been transformed into the mightiest republic which the world has ever seen. Its domains stretch across the continent from one to the other of the two greatest oceans, and it exercises dominion alike in the Arctic and Tropic realms. The growth in wealth and population has surpassed even the growth in territory. Nowhere else in the world is the average of individual comfort and material well-being as high as in our fortunate land.

For the very reason that in material well-being we have thus abounded, we owe it to the Almighty to show equal progress in moral and spiritual things. With a nation, as with the individuals who make up a nation, material well-being is an indispensable foundation. But the foundation avails nothing by itself. That life is wasted, and worse than wasted, which is spent in piling, heap upon heap, those things which minister merely to the pleasure of the body and to the power that rests only on wealth. Upon material well-being as a foundation must be raised the structure of the lofty life of the spirit, if this Nation is properly to fulfil its great mission

and to accomplish all that we so ardently hope and desire. The things of the body are good; the things of the intellect better; but best of all are the things of the soul; for, in the nation as in the individual, in the long run it is character that counts. Let us therefore as a people set our faces resolutely against evil, and with broad charity, with kindliness and good-will toward all men, but with unflinching determination to smite down wrong, strive with all the strength that is given us for righteousness in public and in private life.

Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, do set apart Thursday, the 26th day of November, next, as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer, and on that day I recommend that the people shall cease from their daily work, and, in their homes or in their churches, meet devoutly to thank the Almighty for the many and great blessings they have received in the past, and to pray that they may be given the strength so to order their lives as to deserve a continuation of these blessings in the future.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this thirty-first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eight and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-third.

NAZARETH COLLEGE OF ROCHESTER
3 2769 01 794 260